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Orlando, June 12, 2016

Why Did They Die?

HeForShe

What we share is more powerful than what divides us.

STAND TOGETHER FOR GENDER EQUALITY.

Photo credit: Celeste Sloman

Take action at HeForShe.org

UN WOMEN

UN Women is the United Nations organization dedicated to gender equality & the empowerment of women.

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Cover Story

Why Did They Die?

How the Orlando tragedy—the worst mass shooting in recent U.S. history—is tearing the country apart

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Internal pressures have left the transatlantic relationship between the U.S. and Europe in dire shape

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WATER WARS

RE "INSIDE THE INTERNATIONAL Contest Over the Most Important Waterway in the World" [June 6]: This report exposes the reality that the South China Sea is on the brink of being snatched by China. China has no scruples about violating internationally established rules and makes no bones about showing off its military muscle. Since China has become a menace to security in the Pacific, it is imperative for Japan and the U.S. to rally the regional countries under threat to forge an alliance to hold down China's imperialism.

Goro Shintani, TOKYO

YOUR PIECE IS TOO U.S.-centric and unfair. What is the U.S. doing in the South China Sea? It has no territorial rights there. China has every right to protect its waterways to feed its population and protect its trade primacy in the South China Sea. The U.S. is being deliberately provocative by further militarizing Vietnam. It should let the nations surrounding the South China Sea resolve any issues among themselves.

Azhar Ahmedi,
CHATHAM, ENGLAND

MESSI'S STORY

RE "LIONEL MESSI IN HIS Own Words" [June 6]: Never before have I heard Lionel Messi be so outspoken about his personal life. Moving to Barcelona from Argentina at just 13 years of age to play football must have been a thrilling experience for him as a boy. Such a life-changing opportunity rarely knocks on one's door. Had Messi not grabbed that opportunity gleefully with both hands, we would not be witnessing today the world's greatest footballer in the modern era, whose name and fame have reached dizzying heights.

R. Sivakumar,
CHENNAI, INDIA

EMBRACING DIFFERENCES

RE "WHY KIDS NEED MORE Empathy" [June 6]: I could not agree more with Michele Borba's article, particularly since it was on the page adjacent to an article about America's LGBT community. At present, my 6-year-old daughter is choosing to live her life as a boy in terms of her physicality and interests, which I wholeheartedly support so long as she continues to develop as a well-balanced individual. And not only is she embraced by her family but especially by all of her classmates. As a result, not only is she developing into a happy, confident child but so too are her peers developing empathy at a young age, an experience that I'm sure they will look back on when they hit the age of "Selfie Syndrome" and differences are not always as easy to understand. I can only hope that the innocence and acceptance of 6-year-olds may eventually pervade the narcissism of society's adolescents.

Jannine Golder,
CHESHUNT, ENGLAND

CHOOSE YOUR BATTLES

RE "BATTLE OF THE BATHroom" [May 30]: It's so sad that a major magazine of the most advanced country in the world has to dedicate eight pages to transgender bathroom rights. It would be laughable if it were not so worrying. Have Americans become so concerned with navel-gazing—a privilege of rich countries—that they do not see the grotesque image of themselves they project? Because to the rest of the world, this is a nonissue.

Franco Pavlovic,
VELIZY-VILLACOUBLAY, FRANCE

SELLER'S MARKET

RE "TRUMP, THE ASTUTE Salesman, Has Seized on America's Prevailing Mood: Nostalgic" [May 30]: During times of troubles or transition, people tend to rely on something that is safe to them: the past. What they don't see is that this past was often troublesome as well. This longing for the past has occurred in Europe too, for example in the 1930s. Some could argue that the mood for nostalgia is ongoing at the moment in the forms of the immigration crisis and possible Brexit. This is normal, as it is politicians who try to sell their product of ideology to consumers. History is a powerful tool in politics because the past, present and future are all linked in contemporary political history.

Matias Keinanen,
TURKU, FINLAND

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THE GREATEST

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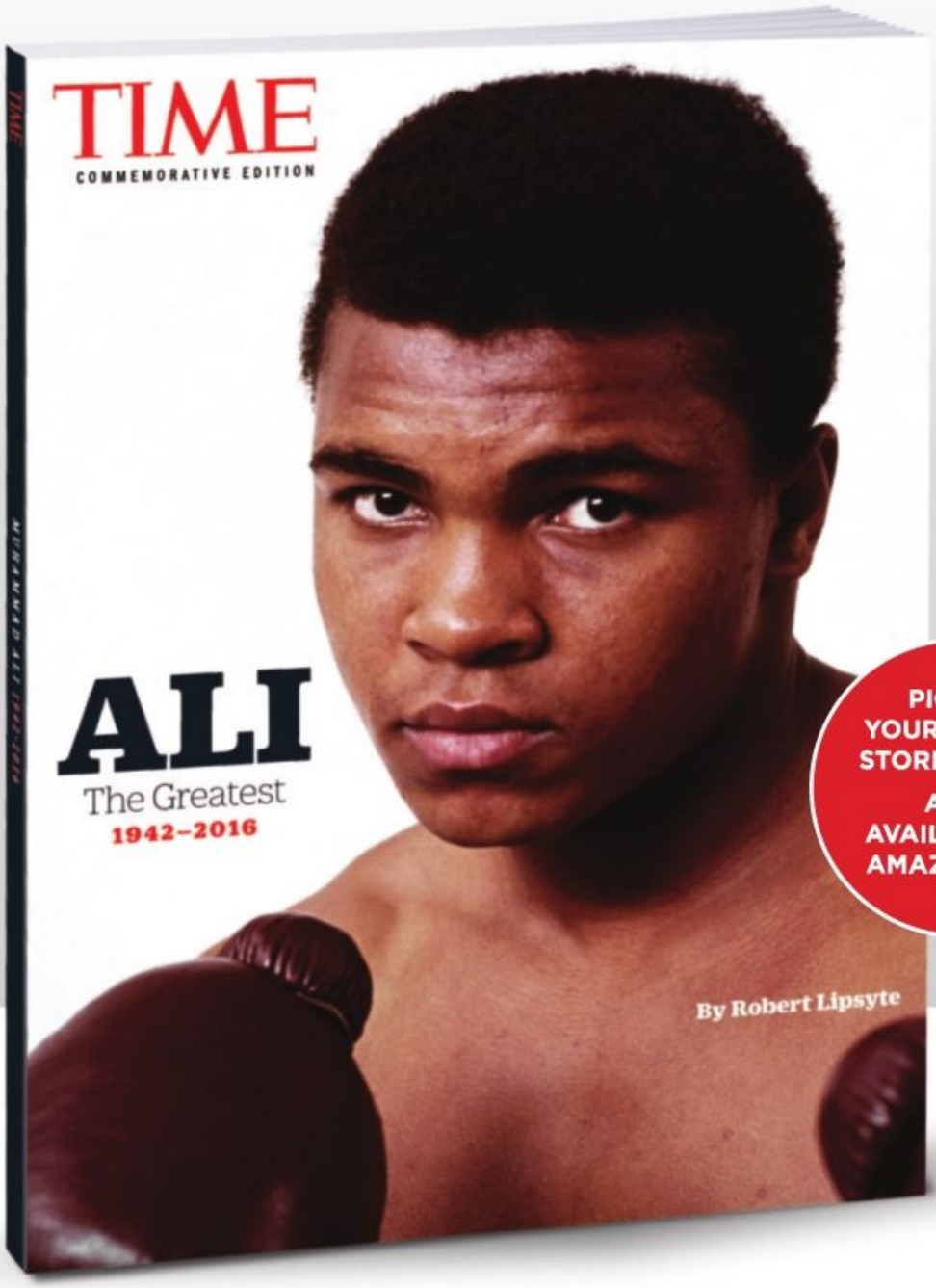

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‘There is a risk of a lost decade for Britain.’

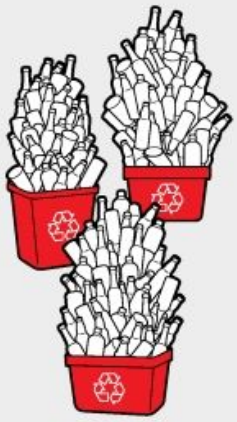
DAVID CAMERON, British Prime Minister, warning of dire economic consequences if the U.K. votes to leave the European Union on June 23

Elephants The U.S. tightened rules against selling ivory

Sharks The San Jose, Calif., hockey team lost the Stanley Cup

‘IF IT’S NOT A FUNERAL, THEY WERE GOING TO HAVE A WEDDING TOGETHER.’

ARYAM GUERRERO, sister of Orlando shooting victim Juan Ramon Guerrero, on her family’s plan to hold a joint funeral for Juan and his boyfriend Christopher Andrew Leinonen, who was also killed in the attack



10 MILLION

Number of **beer-bottle caps** accumulated by an Austrian collector

$26.2 billion

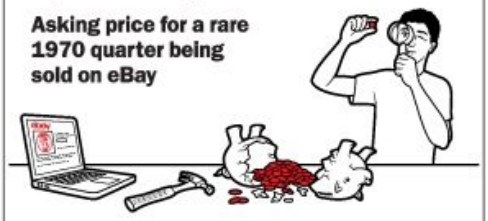
Valuation of LinkedIn in its sale to Microsoft

‘That damn music follows me everywhere.’

HARRISON FORD, actor, joking that he can’t escape the *Indiana Jones* theme song more than three decades after *Raiders of the Lost Ark*

$35,000

Asking price for a rare 1970 quarter being sold on eBay



‘Love is love is love is love is love is love is love cannot be killed or swept aside.’

LIN-MANUEL MIRANDA, *Hamilton* creator and star, paying tribute to the victims of the Orlando mass shooting by reciting an original sonnet at the Tony Awards on June 12, while accepting one of *Hamilton*’s 11 accolades

‘IF I WAS ABLE TO BREAK EVERY STEREOTYPE ... THEN SO CAN YOU.’

LARISSA MARTINEZ, valedictorian of McKinney Boyd High School near Dallas, revealing her undocumented status during a graduation speech and calling on Americans to reject divisive rhetoric

SOURCES: BBC; CNN; L.A. TIMES

CAMERON: FORD; MIRANDA; ELEPHANTS: GETTY IMAGES; GUERRERO AND LEINONEN: COURTESY OF ARYAM GUERRERO; ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'INVESTORS AROUND THE WORLD ARE READYING THEMSELVES FOR A FIRE SALE ON JUNE 24.' —NEXT PAGE

Pro-Brexit campaigners drove several ships past the Houses of Parliament in London on June 15

EPA

PHOTOGRAPH BY FACUNDO ARRIZABALAGA

UNITED KINGDOM

Emotion and immigration could drive Britain to exit the E.U.

By Dan Stewart/London

TO MANY EUROPEANS, THE BIGGEST battle currently taking place on the Continent is in France, where soccer teams from 24 countries are competing in the European Championships. But in the U.K., a battle for Europe with far more at stake is nearing the final whistle. On June 23, Britons will go to the polls to decide whether their country will remain in the European Union, the 28-nation supranational project that offers free trade in exchange for open borders. And most polls now give the Leave vote—the "Brexit"—the edge. The possibility that the second largest economy in the E.U. could leave now seems very real.

If Britain does end up Brexiting, much of the blame will be laid at the door of 10 Downing Street, current residence of U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron. It was Cameron who called the referendum in the first place—a promise he made in part to placate Euroskeptic members of his own party before elections in 2015—and it is Cameron who has led a bleakly negative campaign against Brexit, repeatedly warning of a "DIY recession" and a housing-market crash. A chorus of establishment figures have echoed his oratorio of gloom. Mark Carney, head of the Bank of England, warned of a steep downturn. Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller, former head of Britain's domestic spy agency MI5, said leaving would make Britain "significantly less safe." Even President Obama hopped the pond at Cameron's invitation to warn that Britain would have to join the "back of the queue" to renegotiate trade deals.

But many Britons have rejected what the country's largely Euroskeptic newspapers have nicknamed "Project Fear." A turning point came during a live TV debate this month, when a student in the audience won applause by scolding Cameron for "scaremongering." Brexiteers have capitalized on a growing distrust of authority to portray a vote to Leave as a blow to the establishment. Boris Johnson, the former London mayor and a leader of the Leave campaign, has spoken of it as a "David and Goliath" battle. "And we know what happened to Goliath."

That's not to say the Leave campaign is entirely reality-based. Brexiteers insist that a Britain free of E.U. bureaucracy would be able to negotiate favorable trade deals with member states, keeping the economic benefits of being part of the common European market without the burden of those Brussels bureaucrats. But other E.U. nations have strenuously disagreed. Wolfgang Schäuble, Germany's cantankerous finance minister, said in a recent interview that a vote for Brexit would bar the U.K. from the single market: "In is in. Out is out."

Most economists believe that Brexit would damage the U.K. economy—perhaps severely. But economic arguments mean little to the aging, mostly rural voters who make up the majority of Leave supporters. To them, Brexit is an emotional issue, fired by their fear of a changing Britain. Immigration is the chief issue of concern for voters in this election. Some 2.1 million E.U. citizens have moved to the U.K. since the bloc expanded eastward in 2004, and public services in this country of 64 million have sometimes struggled to cope. The Leave campaign has promised action on immigration but few specifics, suggesting a points system to better control the number of arrivals to the U.K. Cameron has offered little in response. He claims that Britain can better influence overall migration levels in the E.U.—but since the free movement of citizens within the union is a cornerstone of the European project, few believe him.

In the meantime, investors around the world are readying themselves for a fire sale on June 24 should Brexit happen, with one banking source saying a total global sell-off of the euro and related stocks could be in the cards. In the U.K., the government might be forced to slash taxes to prevent large corporations from closing. Cameron would probably resign or be forced out, leaving a bitterly divided government to begin the process of negotiating the U.K.'s withdrawal. The talks could last as long as seven years, according to European Council president Donald Tusk, with unforeseen consequences for Britain's economy and its global standing.

Back in France, the Euro 2016 championships have been marred by violence between English thugs and organized gangs from the Continent. It could be a dispiriting preview of what is to come. ◻

TRENDING

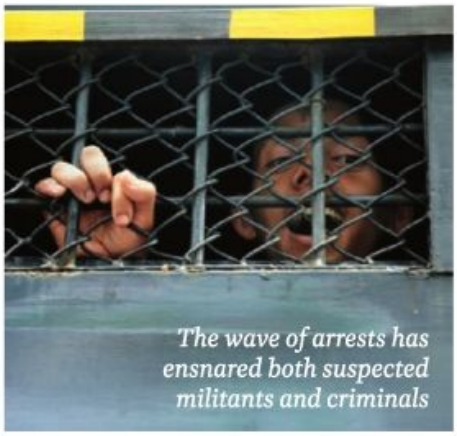
ANIMALS
The National Aquarium in Baltimore plans to create **the nation's first seaside dolphin sanctuary** and move its dolphins there by 2021. CEO John Racanelli noted the U.S. public was "increasingly uneasy with the notion of keeping dolphins and whales in captivity."

DIPLOMACY
President Obama **held a "personal" meeting with the Dalai Lama** at the White House on June 15. Chinese officials who view the Tibetan leader with suspicion objected to the meeting, which comes at a time of tension with Washington.

PUBLIC HEALTH
Fewer American teens are having sex, according to the CDC's biannual Youth Risk Behavior Survey. Researchers said the rate had dropped to 41% from about 47% in previous decades, but offered no reason why. The findings also showed lower rates of alcohol and drug use.

EXTREMISM

Can Bangladesh curb blogger bloodshed?



The wave of arrests has ensnared both suspected militants and criminals

MORE THAN 11,000 PEOPLE HAVE been arrested in Bangladesh since June 10, as the government of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina seeks to stem a three-year campaign of machete attacks by Islamic extremists on bloggers, religious minorities and foreigners.

SPREADING VIOLENCE The first killing occurred in early 2013, when a secular-minded blogger was hacked to death in the capital, Dhaka. But soon foreigners and non-Muslim minorities were being targeted, along with members of minority Muslim sects. In April 2016, the country's most prominent LGBT activist was murdered.

EXTREMIST CULPRITS Hasina's government has blamed Islamic extremists from two banned terrorist groups—Ansarullah Bangla Team and Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen, both of which want to establish a radical version of Shar'ia in the country. Al-Qaeda and ISIS have also claimed attacks, though the government denies their involvement.

DELAYED ACTION The arrests come after Hasina and her Awami League party were criticized for not doing enough to defend the country's secular foundations and protect those targeted by the killers, out of fear of alienating conservative Muslim voters. Despite the crackdown, members of Bangladesh's religious minorities and the country's secular activists remain fearful for their lives. —NIKHIL KUMAR

DATA

KEEPING THE PEACE

The world is becoming a more violent place, according to the 2016 Global Peace Index. The change is being driven primarily by increased terrorism, crime and higher levels of political instability. Here's a sample of countries and how they ranked on the index:

(1 is most peaceful)

- 1 Iceland
- 5 Portugal
- 15 Australia
- 30 Malaysia
- 43 Sierra Leone
- 59 Vietnam
- 75 Kazakhstan
- 89 Haiti
- 97 Sri Lanka
- 103 U.S.
- 120 China
- 156 Ukraine
- 163 Syria

AT EASE, SOLDIER A Queen's guard collapses June 11 at Horse Guards Parade in London during the Trooping the Colour ceremony celebrating the official 90th birthday of Queen Elizabeth II. Since the 18th century, the annual military tradition has been performed by regiments of the British army in honor of the monarch. It is not unusual for guards to faint in warm weather while wearing thick bearskin hats and uniforms. *Photograph by Dylan Martinez—Reuters*

DIGITS

16,666,000

Donation, in pesos ($1.2 million), that Argentina's President made to an educational foundation backed by Pope Francis; local media said the Pope rejected it in part because he disliked the 666 in the sum

ENVIRONMENT

Saving the Great Barrier Reef

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has committed $750 million to stem a mass coral die-off in the Great Barrier Reef after more than a third of coral died in some areas. Here, three things that could help save the reef:

1 SLOWER WARMING
The warming climate played a key role in the reef's most recent die-off, causing coral to expel the organisms that give them their color. Scientists say much of the world's coral will die if temperature rises continue unabated.

2 LESS POLLUTION
Water pollutants such as sewage and sediment agitate coral and make them more likely to catch the diseases that ultimately kill them. Unlike stopping global warming, pollution can be addressed by local authorities.

3 'SUPERCORAL'
Scientists are experimenting with methods to genetically engineer coral to withstand high temperatures. The method could be game-changing, but many experts are skeptical it could be deployed widely.

ANIMALS: NATIONAL AQUARIUM; DIPLOMACY: THE WHITE HOUSE; PUBLIC HEALTH, DIGITS: GETTY IMAGES; EXTREMISM: ABIR ABDULLAH—EPA; ENVIRONMENT: RICHARD VEVERS—OCEAN AGENCY

Caught in the middle of a civil war between Turkey and its Kurds

By Jared Malsin/Diyarbakir

AFTER ZERDA AND YOLDAS, A KURDISH COUPLE IN THEIR 30s from Diyarbakir in southeastern Turkey, married about 15 years ago, they bought a parcel of land from relatives in the town's old city, across the street from a school. The land contained a small house, which they expanded over the years, adding rooms one by one, mixing the cement themselves. They began to raise their three children there. "We were poor, but we had a nice home with a nice garden," says Zerda.

With roughly a million inhabitants, Diyarbakir is the de facto capital of this heavily Kurdish area of southeastern Turkey. The Kurds are a loosely defined ethnic group united by language and scattered across parts of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Armenia, with hundreds of thousands more living in a diaspora in Europe and beyond. Diyarbakir is at the center of a long war between the Turkish security forces and the Kurdish groups in Turkey, some of them armed, who have demanded first independence, then autonomy from the state. The dominant Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)—considered a terrorist group by Turkey and the U.S.—has fought the Turkish authorities since the 1980s. The conflict has left 30,000 people dead over periods of intermittent warfare.

The latest cycle of violence began in July 2015, when a suicide bomber killed at least 33 people, including pro-Kurdish activists, in the border town of Suruc. The attack was blamed on ISIS militants, and two days later the PKK killed two Turkish police officers it accused of collaborating with ISIS. Turkey retaliated with airstrikes on both ISIS positions in Syria and PKK camps in northern Iraq.

Inspired in part by Kurdish fighters who had been battling ISIS across the border in Syria, Kurdish youth began organizing into militias. They appeared on the streets of Diyarbakir and the other towns of the southeast, digging trenches in a bid to keep out the security forces. One of those neighborhoods was Sur, the centuries-old core of the city of Diyarbakir, where Zerda and Yoldas and their three young children lived. The war had come home. "The fighters came and said, 'Go, leave from here,'" says Zerda. (Their names have been changed to protect them from reprisals.)

Zerda and Yoldas refused to leave, staying in Sur through the fall of 2015 and into the winter. The Turkish government led by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan sent well-armed police to roust insurgents from the so-called autonomous neighborhoods. Some parts of heavily Kurdish areas of Turkey were placed under 24-hour curfews for weeks at a time. That included Sur, where the fighting raged in the streets. In a year of combat, at least 338 civilians have been killed. The government says about 500 security forces have also died, along with more than 5,000 Kurdish fighters in both Turkey and Iraq.

By December, the fighting had intensified in Sur. The government sent in tanks and began shelling parts of the neighborhood. Seeking protection from the gunfire, Zerda, Yoldas and their children slept on the floor of their bathroom.

A family stands near a house destroyed by fighting in the Turkish city of Silopi

EMIN OZMEN—LE JOURNAL

EARLY ONE MORNING during the curfew in December, Zerda decided to try to take her children to a relative's house to eat. They had heard occasional gunshots, but it was relatively quiet, so Zerda gathered the children, opened the front door and stepped into the daylight. Suddenly gunfire crackled, and a bullet struck the wall near her daughter's head. Screaming, Zerda rushed the children inside. Her daughter had been bruised by a piece of debris that had chipped off the side of the house, but she wasn't bleeding.

Even after that scare, the family remained in Sur until mid-January, leaving only when the government imposed another curfew on the neighborhood. They were among 30,000 residents of Sur, and 350,000 people across the southeast, who fled during six months of fighting. "If we didn't leave, we'd be stuck between the two sides," says Yoldas.

It's hard to believe that not long ago, Erdogan and his conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) were presiding over an easing of tensions with the Kurds, including peace negotiations with the PKK and its jailed leader, Abdullah Ocalan. In 2009 the AKP government launched a "democratic initiative," heralding a new era of pluralism and a reset in relations with Turkey's minority groups. For years, many Kurdish voters—including Zerda and Yoldas—supported the AKP, helping the party win election after election.

The era of reconciliation came to an end in 2014. The success of U.S.-backed Kurdish militants fighting ISIS in Syria lent momentum to Kurdish nationalism inside Turkey. During the ISIS siege of the Syrian border city of Kobani, Turkish Kurds clashed with police over what they saw as Ankara's failure to allow aid to reach the town. In elections in June 2015, a pro-Kurdish party entered parliament for the first time by passing a required 10% threshold of the vote, dealing a bruising setback to Erdogan.

The elections failed to produce a ruling coalition, triggering a snap election that gave Erdogan another chance to maintain full control of the government. When violence surged after the Suruc bombing, the AKP ran on a platform of law and order, enforcing a security crackdown in Kurdish towns. It worked. Erdogan's party regained its majority in the new elections last November.

The win freed Erdogan to pursue an even more ambitious goal of shifting Turkey to a presidential system, a step critics say could move the country closer to Vladimir Putin–style authoritarianism. They point to other heavy-handed gestures by Erdogan, including recent arrests of critical journalists and academics. On June 8, Erdogan approved a law that strips members of parliament of their legal immunity, which would allow him to remove pro-Kurdish lawmakers.

The Kurds are cast as enemies both of the state and of Erdogan's ambitions. "Right now the only obstacle to [Erdogan] is the PKK," says Harun Ercan, a sociologist employed by the Diyarbakir municipal government. "If they run the elections and PKK says they're going to boycott it, he'll be President of Turkish people, not Kurdish people."

IN THE SOUTHEAST, the security forces have managed to end the urban insurrections that began last year, albeit at the cost of emptying entire neighborhoods and destroying more than 6,000 buildings. But Kurdish armed groups have shifted tactics, carrying out bombings that have killed both police and civilians. In Istanbul on June 7, a car bombing in a major tourist district killed 11 people, including seven police officers.

These attacks increasingly threaten the sense of security in the otherwise peaceful cities of western Turkey, hundreds of miles from the insurgency in the southeast and the wars in Syria and Iraq. With mainstream voters outraged at the violence by Kurdish groups, Erdogan and the AKP will keep gathering power. "It means a more autocratic Turkey, but at the same time it means a stronger AKP," says Burak Kadercan, an expert on Turkish politics and a professor at the U.S. Naval War College. "Fifty percent of the voters have chosen to back AKP, regardless of what they've been doing."

The view is darker for the Kurds. At a cemetery in Diyarbakir last November, the graves were freshly dug. Some headstones were draped with the flag of the People's Protection Units, the Kurdish militia in Syria, a sign of the growing number of Turkish Kurds fighting across the border.

Others are the graves of young people killed in Turkey. At one site, a woman named Fatima smoked a cigarette near her child's grave. She said her 17-year-old son Onur Koc was shot in the back by police in Diyarbakir on Oct. 4. Street battles had taken place in the city around that time, but Fatima claimed her son was shot during a moment of calm. "What can I say? My child is dead and in the ground," she said. "Only God can help us achieve peace now."

Zerda and Yoldas are now living in a rented apartment in a newer neighborhood outside the old city walls. They have not been able to return to their home. The security forces have cordoned off most of the old city, and the family is waiting for permission just to enter the exclusion zone and see whether the house where they began their family is still standing.

Sitting on the floor of his temporary home, Yoldas arranges coffee cups and an ashtray to make a map showing how close their house was to the front line: police here, fighters there. The three children scamper in and out of the room. Zerda and Yoldas don't know if the bullet that nearly stuck their daughter was fired by the security forces or insurgents. They don't think it matters.

"They're not the ones suffering. It's the mothers on both sides," says Zerda. "If they really want war, let's put Erdogan and Ocalan in a ring with sticks so society doesn't have to pay." □

TRENDING

TERRORISM
Philippine officials confirmed on June 14 that Islamic extremists **beheaded Canadian hostage Robert Hall** after a ransom deadline passed. Held for nine months, Hall *(above right)* was the second Canadian killed by Abu Sayyaf militants, who pledged allegiance to ISIS in 2014.

COURTS
A man named only Yu, 37, is suing a Chinese psychiatric hospital for allegedly **forcing him to undergo gay-conversion therapy** in October 2015. He was brought there by his wife under the pretense that he was signing divorce papers and was rescued by his boyfriend.

TECHNOLOGY
Apple will let developers customize the iPhone's voice-activated command feature so that **Siri can access a variety of third-party apps,** the company announced at its annual conference of software developers on June 13.

Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella says the largest acquisition in the company's history will transform both firms

TECH

Microsoft's LinkedIn buy proves social media is graying

By Matt Vella

IN SILICON VALLEY, FIVE YEARS MIGHT AS well be an epoch. When LinkedIn, the online network geared for professionals, went public in May 2011, it was heralded as the opening of a lucrative new frontier for fast-growing social-media firms. The stock popped 109% on its first day of trading as Wall Street fawned over the future IPO prospects of Facebook, Groupon, Twitter, Yelp and others. That frontier closed definitively on June 13 when Microsoft announced it was buying LinkedIn for $26.2 billion, one of the largest technology tie-ups ever and an acknowledgment that the sector is starting to show its age.

$150 million
Projected cost savings of a combined Microsoft-LinkedIn by 2018

Executives from both firms touted the benefits of the union, which is expected to close this fall. "We can reinvent ways to make professionals more productive while at the same time reinventing selling, marketing and talent management," wrote Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella in a memo. He went on to outline how the massive trove of data generated by LinkedIn's 433 million members could augment Microsoft products like Office and Dynamics, a suite that caters to salespeople.

Since he became CEO of the Redmond, Wash.–based software giant two years ago, Nadella has been refocusing Microsoft on services for corporations. Some of that has involved unwinding his predecessor's deals, including the 2013 acquisition of Finnish phonemaker Nokia, which was written down as a $7.6 billion flop less than a year later. Academic studies have shown that 70% to 90% of mergers and acquisitions don't pay off.

Aside from Facebook, which dominates in online advertising, social-media firms have struggled of late. In February, LinkedIn's stock price was nearly halved overnight after weak earnings, a shock that venture capitalist Mark Suster compared to the Lehman Brothers collapse in 2008. Twitter's market cap has been cut almost in half in the past year as a long-promised turnaround failed to materialize, making it a takeover target. Yelp, Zynga and Groupon—each worth barely $2 billion after initially flying high—are widely viewed in the same way.

More than anything, the deal shows how much has changed as social media matures. Slowing user growth is making investors less sanguine about such sites' prospects as vehicles for selling ads. But larger firms see data as the ultimate prize. They envision new lines of business based on so-called machine learning, the hot field of making sense (and profit) from aggregating and parsing huge information storehouses. Nadella described how Cortana, Microsoft's digital assistant, might tap LinkedIn data to give users contextual information about prospective clients, for example.

To make that a reality, Microsoft needs a large set of users. And that's why, despite the risk, the company wants to connect with LinkedIn's several-hundred-million-strong professional network now. ◻

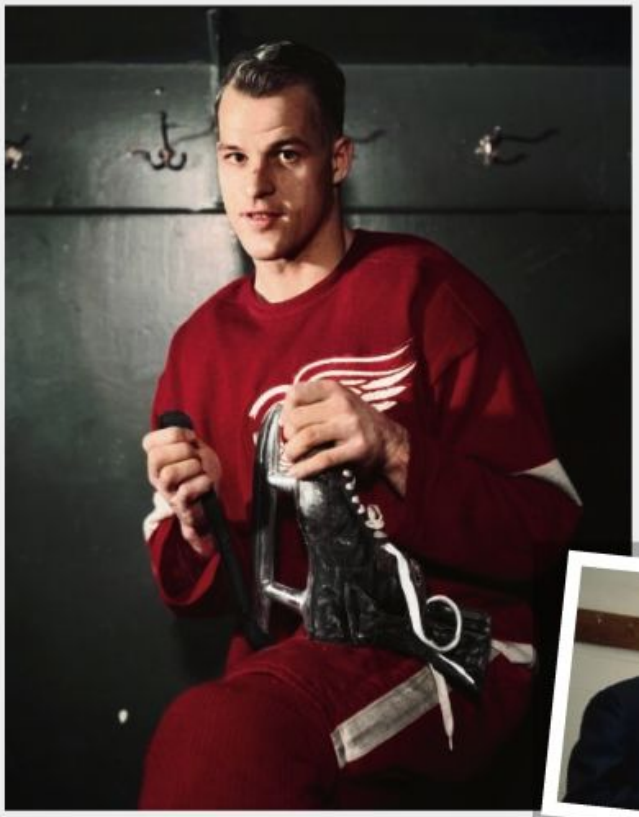
TERRORISM, TECHNOLOGY: REUTERS; COURTS: GETTY IMAGES; NADELLA: JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY IMAGES

Milestones

ANNOUNCED
The first documented **extinction of a mammal owing to man-made climate change,** according to Australian scientists. Their report said rising sea levels "almost certainly" wiped out the Great Barrier Reef's only endemic mammal species, a rodent known as Bramble Cay melomys.

FILED
For Chapter 11 bankruptcy, Gawker Media. The company known for **investigative journalism and gossipy blogging** put itself up for sale after a jury ordered it to pay $140 million to wrestler Terry "Hulk Hogan" Bollea in an invasion-of-privacy suit concerning a sex tape.

RULED
By an Oregon judge, that **Army veteran Jamie Shupe can legally change gender from female to "nonbinary,"** in what the Transgender Law Center said was likely a legal first in the U.S. State law does not require that a petition specify a target gender, a lawyer for Shupe said.



"Mr. Hockey" in 1951; he led the Detroit Red Wings to four Stanley Cup championships

Howe, below right, and Gretzky hold pucks displaying career points after Gretzky broke Howe's scoring record in 1989

DIED

Gordie Howe
'Mr. Hockey'

By Wayne Gretzky

I'VE ALWAYS SAID IT, AND I WILL SAY it again. Mr. Hockey, Gordie Howe, who passed away on June 10 at 88, was the greatest player of all time. He scored 801 career goals, good for second all-time in the NHL. He holds the record for most NHL games played (1,767) and seasons played (26). He won four Stanley Cups with the Detroit Red Wings and played in his final All-Star game in 1980, when he was 51. That season, he scored 15 goals. But those incredible numbers tell just part of Mr. Hockey's story. Gordie was just as good a person as he was a hockey player.

Growing up in Brantford, Ontario, I wrote letters to NHL players. Gordie, my hockey idol, sent me back a signed picture. When I was 10 or so, he visited my town, and I was lucky enough to meet him. Gordie grabbed his stick and put it around my neck. He couldn't have been nicer.

I will never forget our first meeting on the ice, in 1978. I was playing for the Indianapolis Racers and Gordie for the New England Whalers. In the first period, I stole the puck from him and was skating the other way. Suddenly, I felt a good whack. He hit me and stole the puck back. He said, "Don't you ever take the puck from me." I said, "All right. It will never happen again."

But he never made me feel like he was too good, too big time. He was always willing to guide me. In October 1989, when I was fortunate enough to break his all-time scoring record, Gordie said that becoming my friend was one of the better things that had happened to him in hockey. That speaks to who he was as a person. So unselfish, graceful and gracious.

Gretzky played 20 seasons in the NHL and was MVP nine times

TECH

Video games' new gear

E3, the annual games confab in L.A., was dominated this year by hardware—unusual since new consoles debuted only about three years ago.

MORE POWER
Microsoft, Nintendo and Sony are working on new consoles much sooner than expected. In addition to a more svelte $299 Xbox One S *(above)*, available this fall, Microsoft unveiled plans for a vastly more powerful Xbox, coming in 2017.

VIRTUAL REALITY
Sony said it would begin selling a virtual-reality headset for $399 on Oct. 13. Microsoft's 2017 Xbox is intended to better support VR games.

CLASSICS
Nintendo, which confirmed a new console but said little else, showed a new iteration of *Zelda*. Sony said it would revive its once popular *God of War* series.
—Matt Peckham

1951: BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; 1989: DAVID E. KLUTHO—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED; BRAMBLE CAY MELOMYS: POLARIS; GAME CONSOLE: MICROSOFT

LightBox

Fan friction

A bottle and chair are thrown as an England fan walks through tear gas in Marseilles on June 10. Scuffles between fans of England and Russia, whose national soccer teams are competing in the UEFA Euro 2016 tournament, resulted in dozens of injuries. UEFA later threatened to kick out both squads over the violence.

Photograph by Carl Court—Getty Images

▸ *For more of our best photography, visit* **lightbox.time.com**

CANCER

Very hot drinks are a 'probable' cancer trigger

THE LIST OF CANCER-CAUSING agents is long—and getting longer. Experts already tell us to avoid smoking, exposure to UV radiation from the sun and even air pollution since these factors can increase the risk of cancer. Now the World Health Organization says hot drinks like coffee and tea belong on that list too.

The group's International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC) looked at about 1,000 studies that investigated a connection between high-temperature drinks and cancer. Based on the available evidence, they conclude that drinking very hot beverages—anything above 149°F (65°C), which is significantly cooler than most coffee served in restaurants and cafés—is linked to a higher risk of cancer of the esophagus. The results were published in the journal *Lancet Oncology*.

Hot drinks now join a list of 79 other substances—including red meat, emissions from frying foods, DDT and the human papillomavirus—that have been deemed by the agency to be a "probable" carcinogen in humans.

Of course, that doesn't mean a steaming cup of coffee every morning will always cause cancer. And in fact, the same report had some good news for coffee lovers. Back in 1991, the last time the IARC looked at coffee, the group deemed it a "possible" carcinogen based on data linking it to bladder cancer. But in light of a large, newer body of research, the group says there isn't adequate evidence to classify coffee itself as a carcinogen—it's the temperature at which it's consumed that seems to tip the balance.

Experts think that people with a condition called Barrett's esophagus, which often precedes esophageal cancer, are especially vulnerable. And while a small risk exists for everyone, Dr. Otis Brawley, chief medical and scientific officer at the American Cancer Society, says smoking and excessive drinking are much bigger threats to health than piping-hot coffee or tea.

Some research has shown that coffee and tea may even prevent cancers in several other parts of the body. More research is needed, but for now, experts are advising only minor changes to people's morning routines.

"It's a pretty simple message," says Mariana Stern, a professor at the University Southern California and one of the IARC's working-group members. "You can drink your favorite hot drink. Just make sure the temperature is not superhot." —ALICE PARK

PSYCHOLOGY

The upside of all your iPhone pics

"You hear you shouldn't take all these photos and interrupt the experience," says Kristin Diehl, a marketing professor at the University of Southern California Marshall School of Business. "That we're not living in the moment." But her research found otherwise.

DELICIOUS MEALS
The Instagram food-pic trend may have some science to support it: people who were encouraged to take photos of their lunch were more immersed in their meals than those who didn't take any.

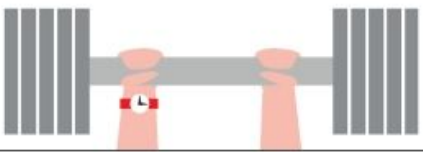
SPECIAL MOMENTS
"You actually look at the world slightly differently when taking photos—you're looking for things you want to hang on to," says Diehl. "That gets people engaged in the experience, and they tend to enjoy it more."

SIGHTSEEING
People who took photos while on a cultural tour enjoyed the experience significantly more than those who didn't. Taking photos directs attention, which heightens the pleasure of your viewing experience.

LONGEVITY

15 minutes

Amount of daily exercise that conferred health and longevity benefits in older people



CANCER, PSYCHOLOGY: GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATIONS BY CARRIE GEE FOR TIME

The View

'WHY DIDN'T HE RESPECT BOUNDARIES?' —NEXT PAGE

Amid the Brock Turner backlash, college students are demanding that assault allegations be taken more seriously

BLEND IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

COLLEGE

On campuses, 'party culture' no longer excuses rape

By Eliana Dockterman

EARLIER THIS MONTH, BROCK ALLEN Turner, the ex–Stanford swimmer convicted of sexually assaulting an unconscious woman behind a fraternity dumpster, received two sentences. The first, from the Santa Clara County Superior Court, was light: six months in jail, lest a longer stay "have a severe impact on him," as Judge Aaron Persky put it. The second, from the court of public opinion, was far more severe—and revealing.

Turner's defense, like that of so many offenders before him, was to downplay his assault as a drunken mistake. This wasn't rape, wrote Leslie Rasmussen, a childhood friend, in a letter to Persky. This was "idiot boys and girls having too much to drink." A kid's life shouldn't be ruined, Turner's dad argued, because of "20 minutes of action." Turner weighed in too, saying he'd been "shattered"—not by remorse over the assault but by "party culture."

The public by and large bought none of it. In the days following Turner's sentencing, his defenders were excoriated on social media. A million people signed a petition to recall Persky from the bench. And millions more shared a statement from Turner's victim, which ripped his reasoning to shreds. "We were both drunk," she wrote. "The difference is I did not take off your pants and underwear, touch you inappropriately and run away."

Demanding that a criminal be held accountable for his actions should not seem so extraordinary. But in America, forced sex with someone you know—a friend, a boyfriend, someone you met at a party—wasn't even really considered

rape until the mid-1980s, after a landmark study found that 1 in 4 college women said they'd been sexually assaulted. Since then, countless accusations have been downplayed or outright dismissed under questionable circumstances, especially if the accused is privileged and/or white. (One recent example: the student at Dartmouth whose attorneys successfully argued that he'd had "drunken, awkward sex," despite testimony that he'd broken into the accuser's room.)

This creates a culture in which women are responsible for preventing their own rapes. If only *she* hadn't gotten so drunk or *she* hadn't worn that outfit, the thinking goes, things might have turned out differently. As opposed to: why didn't *he* respect boundaries?

But slowly that culture is breaking down, on and off college campuses. The huge outcry over Turner's light sentence comes amid an unprecedented cultural focus on the rights of sexual-assault victims. In 2014, the Department of Education launched a Title IX investigation into 55 universities after students alleged they were mishandling sexual-assault complaints; today the tally is 192. (Most are ongoing.) That has put increased pressure on schools like Kansas State, Yale and Baylor, which in May fired its football coach and president to ensure assault complaints against athletes are taken more seriously. Meanwhile, Vice President Joe Biden, head of a White House campaign to encourage bystanders to intervene in predatory situations, has become a vocal advocate. "We can never say enough to survivors, I believe you. It is not your fault," he wrote to the Stanford victim.

College students are experimenting with tactics as well, recognizing that official programs may not be enough. Among them: the Stanford Association of Students for Sexual Assault Prevention, which aims to help students educate one another about the dos and don'ts of sexual conduct, so assaults like Turner's don't happen again. "Freshmen can skip seminars on assault," says co-founder Matthew Baiza, a rising junior. "But they can't really ignore their friends."

At Dartmouth, four sororities have taken a more radical approach. For insurance reasons, the National Panhellenic Conference, their ruling body, wouldn't let them throw parties, forcing sisters to go to fraternities, where many felt unsafe. So the houses cut official ties. Now they operate as independent entities backed by Dartmouth, allowing them to make their own party culture. "When we have control over our bar, who comes in and out of our house, we can create a safe space," says Alanna Kane, president of Sigma Delta, which in the 1980s became the first sorority to disassociate. "It's kind of instinctive—that responsibility as women, you know, to have each other's backs." □

VERBATIM

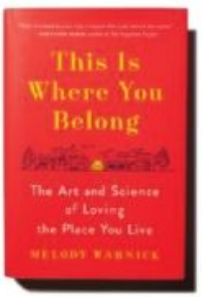
'I may be a little grayer than I was eight years ago, but this is what a feminist looks like.'

PRESIDENT OBAMA, speaking at the first United State of Women Summit, a daylong event hosted by the White House to discuss the challenges facing American women

BOOK IN BRIEF

The science of loving where you live

ANYONE WHO'S MOVED TO A NEW city knows that the transition can be exciting—and deeply unsettling. In *This Is Where You Belong: The Art and Science of Loving the Place You Live,* journalist Melody Warnick, who has moved six times in her adult life, puts forth a series of research-backed ways to be happy in a new home. Shopping at a locally owned store, for instance, can foster meaningful ties with business owners and other shoppers; it also supports your new community financially, in turn improving your own quality of life. Finding a place to volunteer is also a good way to meet like-minded friends while investing in a cause you care about. Small tricks work too, like Googling the flora and fauna native to your new area or returning to the same restaurant often enough that the servers know your name. If all else fails, Warnick writes, just fake it till you make it: "If you want to love your town, act like someone who loves your town would act." —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Existentialism

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

The floating waterfall

A torrent of water seems to appear in midair outside the Palace of Versailles, thundering into the Grand Canal below. The illusion comes courtesy of Danish-Icelandic artist Olafur Eliasson, whose *Waterfall* will be on display through Oct. 30. (To add an element of mystery, the artist won't say exactly how tall it is.) From some angles, the cascade veils its mechanics. But from the side, it's easy to see the crane supporting the pipes that pump the water skyward, creating what Eliasson describes as "a very baroque experience" meant to "celebrate our ability to be creative." —*Julie Shapiro*

QUICK TAKE

American slaves emancipated themselves

By Manisha Sinha

TO MANY AMERICANS, THE END OF SLAVERY is synonymous with Abraham Lincoln, who signed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. But that's hardly the whole story. And it discounts the agency of thousands of slaves who voted with their feet for freedom.

In the years before the Civil War, fugitive slaves made sure that Northerners—most of whom had never set foot on a plantation—could no longer ignore slavery. As they fled bondage, and as helping them escape became a crucial part of abolitionist activism, their growing presence in the North forced citizens to take sides.

They changed the discourse by sharing stories of whippings, family separations and backbreaking labor, undercutting rosy proslavery narratives and influencing anti-slavery novels like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. They inspired defiance of laws like the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which compelled Northerners to help capture anyone thought to be a fugitive slave. "It outlaws me," wrote Jermain Loguen, an abolitionist from Syracuse, N.Y., "and I outlaw it." And when war did come, escaped slaves would also fight in the Union armies.

On Juneteenth—the commemoration of June 19, 1865, when former slaves in Texas celebrated emancipation—it is important to remember that African Americans did not simply receive the gift of freedom. They were architects of their own liberation.

Sinha is the author of The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition

DATA

BINGE-O-METER

After analyzing viewing habits for more than 100 serialized TV shows, Netflix found that some genres are fully consumed—a season watched from start to finish—faster than others. Here's a sampling of the order, from most to least bingeable.

THRILLERS AND HORROR
Fast-paced, twisty shows like *Breaking Bad* hook viewers for 2½ hours a day, on average.

ACTION AND ADVENTURE
Shows like *Outlander* are addicting, but fewer cliffhangers may make viewers binge more slowly.

DRAMATIC COMEDIES
Viewers stick with shows like *Orange Is the New Black* for about two hours a day.

HISTORICAL DRAMAS
Heavier shows like *Mad Men* tend to require more digestion between viewings.

POLITICAL DRAMAS
Ditto for series like *House of Cards*, whose complicated political plotlines invite reflection.

IRREVERENT COMEDIES
Sitcoms like *Arrested Development* are among the slowest binged, thanks in part to their stand-alone episode structure.

OBAMA: GETTY IMAGES; WATERFALL: ANDERS SUNE BERG—STUDIO OLAFUR ELIASSON

Seeing sexism from both sides: what trans men experience

By Charlotte Alter

FOR ALMOST THREE DECADES AS A RADIO NEWSCASTER in Victoria, British Columbia, Sheila Gardner fielded countless comments from male listeners—not about stories but about syntax. They'd call up, night after night, anytime they detected anything that sounded like an error. And invariably they'd offer corrections.

Then at age 52, Sheila Gardner became James Gardner, and suddenly the criticism faded. "I'm the same person," says Gardner, now 57. But since he came out as male, "the men are less critical."

As debates rage over controversial bathroom laws and viewers flock to shows like *Orange Is the New Black* and *Transparent*, it's clear that the general public has never been more interested in the lives—and rights—of transgender Americans. But while the spotlight shines brightly on stars like Laverne Cox and Caitlyn Jenner, transgender men have been largely ignored. That's partly because Americans are highly critical of how women look and act, much more so than they are of men. "In that world," says Julia Serano, a transgender activist and author, "it just makes sense that people will focus more on trans women than trans men."

Yet the experiences of trans men can provide a unique window on how gender functions in American society. Unlike trans women, trans men are often not recognized as trans, meaning they can be less vulnerable to obvious transphobia. Some call it "passing" or "going stealth"; others say such terms suggest secrecy or deception, preferring "low or no disclosure." In practice, this means that a 5-ft. 4-in. man is less conspicuous than a 6-ft. 2-in. woman. It also means that trans men in general are more likely to be treated like any other men—all while knowing what it's like to live as women.

In the past year, I've interviewed nearly two dozen trans men and activists about work, relationships and family. Over and over again, men who were raised and socialized as female described all the ways they were treated differently as soon as the world perceived them as male. They gained professional respect but lost intimacy. They exuded authority but caused fear. From courtrooms to playgrounds to prisons to train stations, at work and at home, with friends and alone, trans men reiterated how fundamentally different it is to experience the world as a man.

How Men Work

ONE DAY IN COURT, JAMES WARD, A LAWYER IN SAN Francisco who transitioned about six years ago, got reprimanded by a female judge. A minute later, his opposing counsel leaned over and called the judge the *C* word. "We weren't out of the courtroom door when he said that to me under his breath," Ward says. "He never would have said that when I was female."

> 'Being privy to the conversations that men have among themselves really does give me an indication of how they think about women. And sometimes it can be really scary.'
>
> **TIQ MILAN,** transgender writer and activist

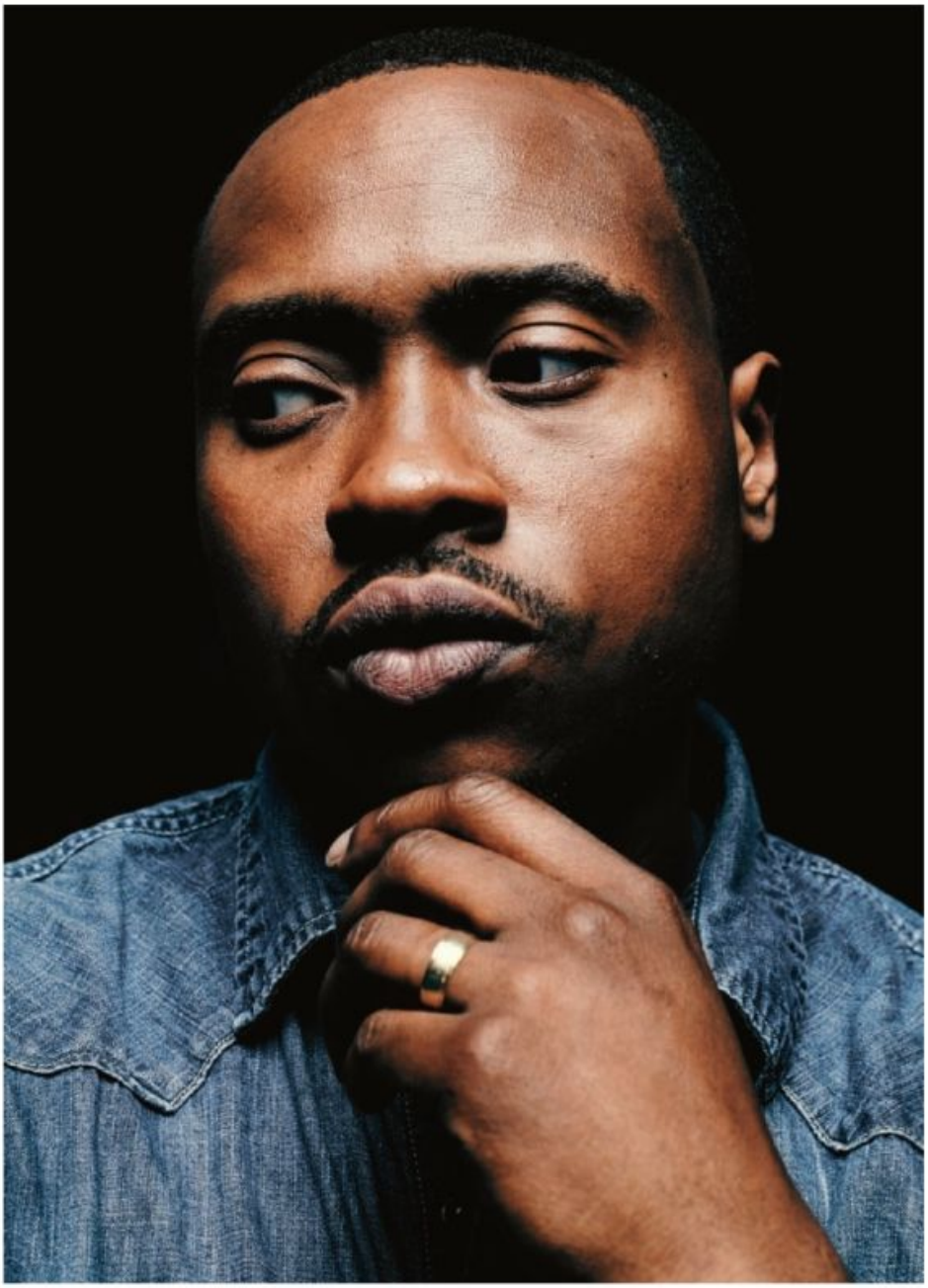
Many trans men I spoke with said they'd had no idea how rough women have it at work until they came out as men. As soon as they transitioned, they found their missteps minimized and their successes amplified. "If I'm going off the cuff, no one really questions it. It's taken as 'He's saying it, so it must be true,'" says Ward. "While I was practicing as female, it was 'Show me your authority. You don't know any better yet.'"

Trans men also recalled hearing female colleagues belittled by male bosses, and female job applicants called names, confirming sexist attitudes they had long suspected but couldn't prove. Mitch Davis, a director of organizational development at Planned Parenthood Federation of America in New York City, has worked in human resources for many companies since transitioning eight years ago. At one job, he heard his boss call their female colleagues "old cows" and refer to a middle-aged job applicant as "Dame Edna" after she'd left an interview. "Evidently men say things like that to each other all the time," he says.

For others, the professional benefits of maleness come in the form of respect and promotions. Before his transition, Dana Delgardo says, nobody at the clinic where he worked as a family nurse practitioner recommended him for a leadership position, even though he had been there for six years. "All of a sudden I'm the golden child," he says. "Now I'm put into a managerial position where I could possibly be a regional director."

Many trans women have the opposite experience. Joan Roughgarden, a professor emeritus of biology at Stanford University, says it became much more difficult to publish her work when she started writing under a female name. When she'd write a paper as a man and submit it to a journal, "it would be almost automatically accepted," she says. "But after I transitioned, papers were running into more trouble, grant proposals were running into more trouble, the whole thing was getting more difficult."

"As a man, you're assumed to be competent unless proven otherwise," she concludes. "Whereas as a woman, you're presumed to be incompetent unless proven otherwise."



Tiq Milan, a 33-year-old writer and activist, transitioned in 2007

ERIK TANNER FOR TIME

How Men Feel

EVERY TRANSGENDER MAN INTERviewed for this story said he felt different after transitioning. But for those who had taken testosterone treatments, the psychological changes were more pronounced; many said they felt more aggressive and sure of themselves.

Before he transitioned and started testosterone therapy, Gardner, the radio newscaster, used to spend 45 minutes debating which products to buy at the grocery store. "I would stand there and look at the different varieties of yogurt," he recalls. "Now I just grab one. I'm looking for utility—I don't second-guess myself." Even at work, he says, "if I get into a disagreement, I don't have that feeling afterwards of, I hope I didn't hurt his or her feelings. I'm not a worrier as much as I was in the female body."

Of course, Gardner's story is unique to his experience, and not all trans men who take testosterone notice so dramatic a shift. But anecdotally, there appears to be a correlation. Dr. Joshua Safer of Boston University, who has treated people (including trans men) with testosterone for more than a decade, says many of his patients become more decisive and more aggressive, though he laments the lack of data to back up this observation.

How Men Are Seen

ALL THE TRANS MEN I SPOKE WITH agreed they hadn't expected to lose the social trust that is often extended to women. "I can look at a mom and her baby, but I can't look for too long," says Gardner. "I miss being seen as not a threat."

Everyone mentioned that walking alone at night felt different. The men said they felt safer than they did when they made the same trips before transitioning—but they also noticed that they could unintentionally scare women on the street. "If I start to get too close, I can feel her fear, I can feel that she's getting upset," says Tiq Milan, a 33-year-old writer and activist. "And it's really just an indication of how dangerous this world is for women."

As a trans man of color, Milan is especially conscious of being viewed as a threat. Since his transition, at age 25, "I've had people make assumptions that I was a criminal. I've been followed around stores. I've seen white women look visibly shaken if there's just the two of us in a elevator," he says, adding that his interactions with police have also become more fraught.

Davis, the former HR professional, says he is unsure how to act around other men. "I'm still trying to figure out all of the different secret codes that guys use to talk to each other and to make friendships," he says. "I don't know what that punch on the arm meant."

Milan, by contrast, says he's had mostly positive experiences with male friendship. But occasionally, he says, he'll hear an offhand remark—something derogatory about a wife or girlfriend—that gives him pause.

"Being privy to the conversations that men have among themselves really does give me an indication of how they think about women," he says. "And sometimes it can be really scary." □

Why the Brits are poised to take a risk and leave the European Union

By Frank Luntz

THE HEADLINES YOU'RE READING ON BREXIT—THE U.K.'S June 23 referendum on whether it should leave the European Union—aren't telling you the whole story.

Beyond the infighting in Westminster, there's something deeper and longer-lasting happening across the U.K. Brits have become canaries in the coal mine, offering Europe, America and the developed world a glimpse of what is coming in our elections. The Brexit question represents a political conflict rapidly spreading across the globe: Do hardworking, taxpaying citizens fundamentally trust or reject half a century of globalization and integration? Or is it time for a rethinking and redrawing of our political and economic systems from the ground up?

The majority of British voters' heads may be with Remain, but their hearts are with Leave—and those hearts are winning out in the final days before the vote.

Public sentiment on the ground is evenly divided. In a nationwide survey my firm completed June 8, Leave had 49% of the vote, Remain 47%, and only 4% undecided. Anybody who tells you they can predict the final outcome is either fooling or fibbing. It is truly too close to call. However, the underlying currents are moving in Leave's favor—and they are doing so worldwide. Our data shows that more and more people in Europe and the U.S. have come to reject traditional theory and party orthodoxy, wreaking havoc on the status quo.

In America, the fundamental question for the upcoming election is similar, and just as significant: whether to seek changes at the margins, or blow it all up and start over—in the name of "making America great again," for example. But unlike in the U.S., the underlying issue in the upcoming Brexit vote isn't clouded by candidates or even party politics. This is a pure vote, up or down, on the question of being nation-first or a global participant—and its impact will be felt across both the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean.

WHEN IT COMES down to it, most Brits accept that Remain makes sense on a macro level. They recognize that abandoning the E.U. means taking a risk that may not turn out well for the British economy overall. But an increasing number believe the potential consequences are more than outweighed by the feeling that they are taking control of their country and their destiny once again. After decades of feeling betrayed by the very same people and institutions that are now telling them to support the status quo—to Remain—the voters appear ready to take matters into their own hands and demand radical change.

Yet on a personal level, it's less about revolution and more about simple survival. In our polling, Britons are most worried about:

1. Day-to-day existence. Families are asking: "Will I have enough to pay the bills every month, and hopefully a little left over to save?" Translation: The E.U. may be relevant to political and economic leaders, but it is meaningless to the average taxpayer.
2. Generational survival. Parents are asking: "Will our children have better or worse opportunities than I had at their age?" Translation: With Europe in decline, why hitch our future to a sinking ship?
3. Services survival. Citizens are asking: "Do our current policies help, or hurt, the goal of preserving and protecting our pensions, benefits and NHS?" Translation: With the flood of immigrants and refugees into Europe, a majority of Brits are crying out, "Enough."

Yes, the Remain campaign is making sound policy arguments, backed by almost all economists, but voters are saying right back: "We don't believe it. We aren't feeling the benefits you promised in our daily lives." Again, the heart wins out over the head.

Prime Minister Cameron at a recent Remain event

SO THE MOMENTUM is with Leave—and yet many pundits still expect Remain to win. It's not difficult to see why. In our polling, the Remain campaign's two best arguments are "leaving will create years of uncertainty" and "we need to keep our seat at the table." The message—that bad things will happen if we reject the status quo—is intrinsically negative, but it does keep voters in line. Plus, the constitutional weight of the question tilts the scales still further in the direction of the status quo; there will be no opportunity to change your vote in four years' time. It's the same "better the devil you know" strategy David Cameron used to win a parliamentary majority last year for his Tories. We'll find out if it can succeed again on June 23, but in a deeper sense, it doesn't really matter. Whatever the result, British voters' trust in institutions will have diminished still further, and the us-vs.-them mentality will continue to grow.

Brexit is the beginning of a debate the developed world is about to have with itself—not the end. □

Luntz is a news analyst and contributor to CBS and Fox

DYLAN MARTINEZ—REUTERS

After Orlando, Hillary Clinton must defang the demagogue. And that's harder than it looks

By Joe Klein

IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE ORLANDO massacre, we the media fell into a familiar trap. We broadcast Donald Trump's assorted outrages—including his vile insinuations that the President is in sympathy with the terrorists; the various lies and mistakes that punctuated his speech (the shooter was born in a place called "Afghan"); his renewed, un-American call for a ban on Muslims entering the country. All these were reprehensible and, to my mind, make him unfit for the presidency. But we missed something else: there was a surprising power to Trump's speech, to his crude arguments. That power has to be acknowledged and confronted in a substantive way. This will now be the role of Hillary Clinton, who spoke about Orlando a couple of hours before Trump, delivering yet another mature, eloquent and reasonable speech. This is the shape of the campaign to come.

I CAN EASILY IMAGINE a fair-minded American sympathizing with Trump's talk about the shooter's family, refugees from Afghanistan, the extremist father praising the Taliban, killers of hundreds of American troops: "The bottom line is that the only reason the killer was in America in the first place was because we allowed his family to come here," Trump said. His most damaging attack on Clinton was in her own words: "Let's be clear," she once tweeted, "Islam is not our adversary. Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people and have nothing whatsoever to do with terrorism."

This was, indeed, a classic example of the overripe political correctness that Trump has ridiculed all the way to the Republican nomination. Yes, the overwhelming majority of Muslims are "peaceful and tolerant," but the extreme Wahhabi and Salafist sects represent a significant philosophical strain within Sunni Islam and a clear and present danger to the rest of the world. As Clinton herself acknowledged in her post-Orlando speech, "It is long past time for the Saudis, the Qataris and the Kuwaitis and others to stop their citizens from funding extremist organizations. And they should stop supporting radical schools and mosques around the world."

A more difficult problem is how to respond to Trump's nativism, a tendency as old as the Republic. Why was the Mateen family given shelter here? Are the laws governing such entries still appropriate? The immigration issue isn't easy to explain; it is, as Trump has shown, easy to demagogue. After 50 years of an expansive immigration policy, there are reforms that make sense. Several of Trump's more rational Republican opponents proposed changing the emphasis from a system that allows entry to all members of an extended family to one that favors those who bring skills with them. Another question: Should those who come here illegally have a path to citizenship or simply be accorded legal—that is, nonvoting—status? A good part of Trump's success is attributable to Washington's inability to find consensus on any reasonable reforms at all.

Clinton has taken positions on these issues, but she will need to challenge Trump's false assertions and bigoted "solutions" in a major speech soon. That is the unfairness of this campaign: Trump doesn't want to reform our immigration system; he wants to exploit it. He is allergic to details; Clinton thrives on them.

Her post-Orlando speech reiterated a strong, thoughtful program to combat homegrown terrorism. With the primaries over, she was able to celebrate the work of first responders, also known as police, and praise their military equipment, like the Kevlar helmet that saved one officer, without fear of consequences from left-wing Democrats. She was also able to reiterate her support for an assault-weapons ban and for a ban on gun sales to people on the terrorist watch list, which Republicans oppose. It's been argued that the Clinton Administration's assault-weapons ban had only marginal effect—but we're living in a different era now, when assault-rifle massacres are almost weekly events.

THIS ELECTION IS A TEST. The Trump and Clinton speeches after Orlando illuminate the essential choice. To defang the demagogue, Clinton will need more than ridicule—although she has shown a delightful ability to get under Trump's skin. She'll need to carefully unpack and respond to arguments Trump makes that have resonance, including charges soon to come about the work of the Clinton Foundation, which took major contributions from the aforementioned Saudis, Qataris and Kuwaitis. She is carrying a heavy burden, the burden of proof, the burden of being factual, of protecting our democracy and our very complicated Constitution from an unprincipled opponent who has no restraints at all. □

TWO CANDIDATES, TWO REACTIONS

Donald Trump
He took credit on Twitter for "being right on radical Islamic terrorism"; said President Obama should "resign in disgrace" if he won't use that phrase; and repeated his call to ban Muslims from entering the U.S.

Hillary Clinton
After observing that "today is not a day for politics," Clinton focused on battling ISIS "with clear eyes, steady hands and unwavering determination and pride in our country and our values."

TRUMP: GETTY IMAGES; CLINTON: REUTERS

Orlando Strong
FEAR WILL NOT DEFINE US
LOVE WINS
LOVE WINS

Nation

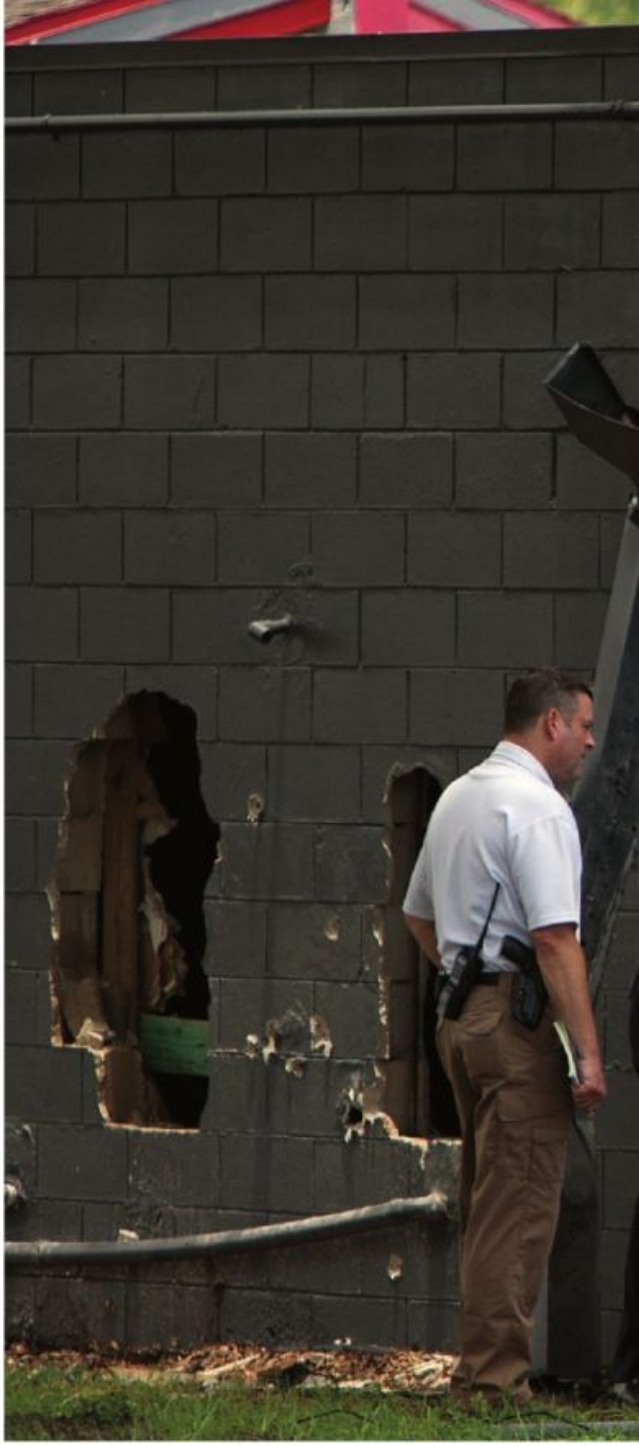
WHY DID THEY DIE?

A massacre in Orlando elicits grief, anger and a heightened sense of our stark political divides

By Michael Scherer

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN TAGGART

The madman who attacked Orlando's Pulse nightclub picked his spot carefully. Not any bar would do, not even any gay bar. He chose a safe space he knew well, filled with youth like him. The soon-to-be-victims danced beneath pink lights on Latin night, all smiles in the pictures they sent friends. Celebrating at closing time.



Thousands gather to mourn on June 13 at a vigil outside Orlando's Dr. Phillips Center for the Performing Arts

The 29-year-old killer came to send a message, as all terrorists do. He murdered 49 people and declared his allegiance to a grab bag of radical Islamists as he stood in a bloody bathroom. But the United States of America has a tradition more discriminating than the pipe bomb, more powerful than the long gun. The Klansmen who killed four girls in 1963 at 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., were answered with the Civil Rights Act, which their crime helped make law. The hijackers of 9/11 brought out firefighters who raced up stairs as buildings collapsed. Charleston, S.C., responded last year to the murderous rampage of a white supremacist with a miles-long chain of brotherhood, while maimed runners on prosthetic legs returned to Boston to rekindle the spirit that bombers had tried to destroy. Unity and hope swamped fear and hate each time.

So after Orlando the resistance began, shared on Facebook and broadcast on national television: stories of friends who shielded friends from bullets, long lines of spontaneous volunteers to donate blood and rainbow colors splashed on cityscapes from Nashville to Sydney, Minneapolis to Tel Aviv. The next steps seemed easy to predict: national mourning, bipartisan shows of unity and a redoubling of resolve.

But somehow the script went sideways, and the country veered off track. It was not just that these murders struck at the tender inflammation of three long-divisive topics: guns, God and gays. The killer attacked in a season of turmoil as voters considered an election that was fast becoming a national referendum on the country's very identity, its commitment to pluralism and its role as a beacon in the world. The terror this time did not unite. It tore.

PREVIOUS PAGES: EPA; POLICE: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

On June 12, forensic investigators examine the wall that SWAT teams broke through to free dozens of clubgoers

As with anything else these days, you could divine your own meaning from the wreckage of unsatisfying facts, and plenty of Americans did just that. For some, the worst mass shooting in U.S. history was primarily the act of a homophobic young man struggling with his own sexuality, while armed with unforgivable access to endless ammunition and a weapon of war. Others saw the latest ambush through a religious prism, a clash of civilizations that Western leaders have been too scrupulous to win. For much of the country, the choice was black and white, one or the other. "Ban the guns" and "ban the Muslims" quickly became "blame one another."

THIS WAS A NATIONAL TEST, more raw and dangerous than the typical bouts of outrage and recrimination. In Congress, Democrats walked out in protest when Republican House Speaker Paul Ryan called for a moment of silence. "Now do something!" an angry voice called from the room. The ensuing uproar about gun control ended only when the Speaker banged his gavel, ruling the Democrats, his governing partners, out of order. Even in Orlando, unity was elusive. When Equality Florida, a gay-rights group, organized the largest public vigil in Orlando, with nearly 10,000 people, not a single Republican statewide official attended.

Then there was the presidential arena. Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, is either a symptom or a cause of today's division, depending on whom you ask. But there was no mistaking his unseemly haste in congratulating himself on Twitter shortly after the attack for having "called it" when he proposed a ban on Muslims entering the

country. (In fact, the killer, just like Trump, was a U.S. citizen born in Queens.) Victims were still in surgery when Trump called for President Barack Obama to resign for failing to use the words *radical Islam* in a speech.

"Look, we're led by a man that either is not tough, not smart, or he's got something else in mind," Trump declared a day later, his insinuations recalling his bizarre and bogus obsession with Obama's birth certificate in 2011. "He doesn't get it, or he gets it better than anyone understands." Major-party nominees have never acted this way, at least not since the advent of television. When the Washington *Post* wrote that Trump had suggested Obama's involvement in the Orlando attack, the candidate announced he was cutting off the newspaper's credentials to cover his campaign.

In Trump's view, the mass murder in Orlando could be pinned on an overconcern with ethnic and religious inclusion. "The current politically correct response cripples our ability to talk and to think and act clearly," he said in a speech after the massacre. Trump reiterated his call for an immigration ban based on nationality and religion, and blamed—without evidence—American Muslim communities for failing to tell authorities he claimed they knew about beforehand.

Trump's theory of governance, which appears to be supported by perhaps as much as 40% of the voting public in polls, is zero sum. Pain in, pain out, preferably directed at something foreign. A crude attack demands an even cruder response. Targeting the families of terrorists. Torture "worse than" waterboarding. If the Orlando killer poked at our sore spots, Trump applies a searing heat. And it has been working. He grabbed the Republican nomination while falsely accusing New Jersey Muslims of cheering on rooftops after the 9/11 attacks, and his support spiked after the terrorist massacres in Paris and San Bernardino, Calif.

A furious Obama had heard enough. Flanked conspicuously by his national-security team at the White House, he charged Trump with threatening the very greatness of the country. "Where does this stop?" Obama demanded. "The Orlando killer, one of the San Bernardino killers, the Fort Hood killer—they were all U.S. citizens. Are we going to start treating all Muslim Americans differently? Are we going to start subjecting them to special surveillance? Are we going to start discriminating against them because of their faith?"

It's too soon to tell. But all of those options are now squarely on the table. They have been pushed by fear and frustration and a billionaire celebrity candidate from the fringes of debate to the central choice of the general election. Score another point for the grim genius of the modern jihadi strategists. On 9/11, they turned our airplanes into their bombs,

They were pharmacy technicians, accountants, travel-company operators. Some were still going to school, scheduling auditions to jump-start careers. They were single, planning to be married, in love

THE 49 WHO DIED AT PULSE

From top row to bottom, left to right

Stanley Almodovar III, 23
Amanda Alvear, 25
Oscar Aracena-Montero, 26
Rodolfo Ayala-Ayala, 33
Antonio Davon Brown, 29
Darryl Roman Burt II, 29

Jonathan Antonio Camuy Vega, 24
Angel Candelario-Padro, 28
Simon Adrian Carrillo Fernandez, 31
Juan Chavez-Martinez, 24
Luis Daniel Conde, 39
Cory James Connell, 21

Tevin Eugene Crosby, 25
Deonka Deidra Drayton, 32
Franky Jimmy De Jesús Velazquez, 50
Leroy Valentin Fernandez, 25
Mercedez Marisol Flores, 26
Peter O. Gonzalez-Cruz, 22

Juan Ramon Guerrero, 22
Paul Terrell Henry, 41
Frank Hernandez, 27
Miguel Angel Honorato, 30
Javier Jorge-Reyes, 40
Jason Benjamin Josaphat, 19

Eddie Jamoldroy Justice, 30
Anthony Luis Laureano Disla, 25
Christopher Andrew Leinonen, 32
Brenda Lee Marquez McCool, 49
Jean Carlos Mendez Perez, 35
Kimberly Morris, 37

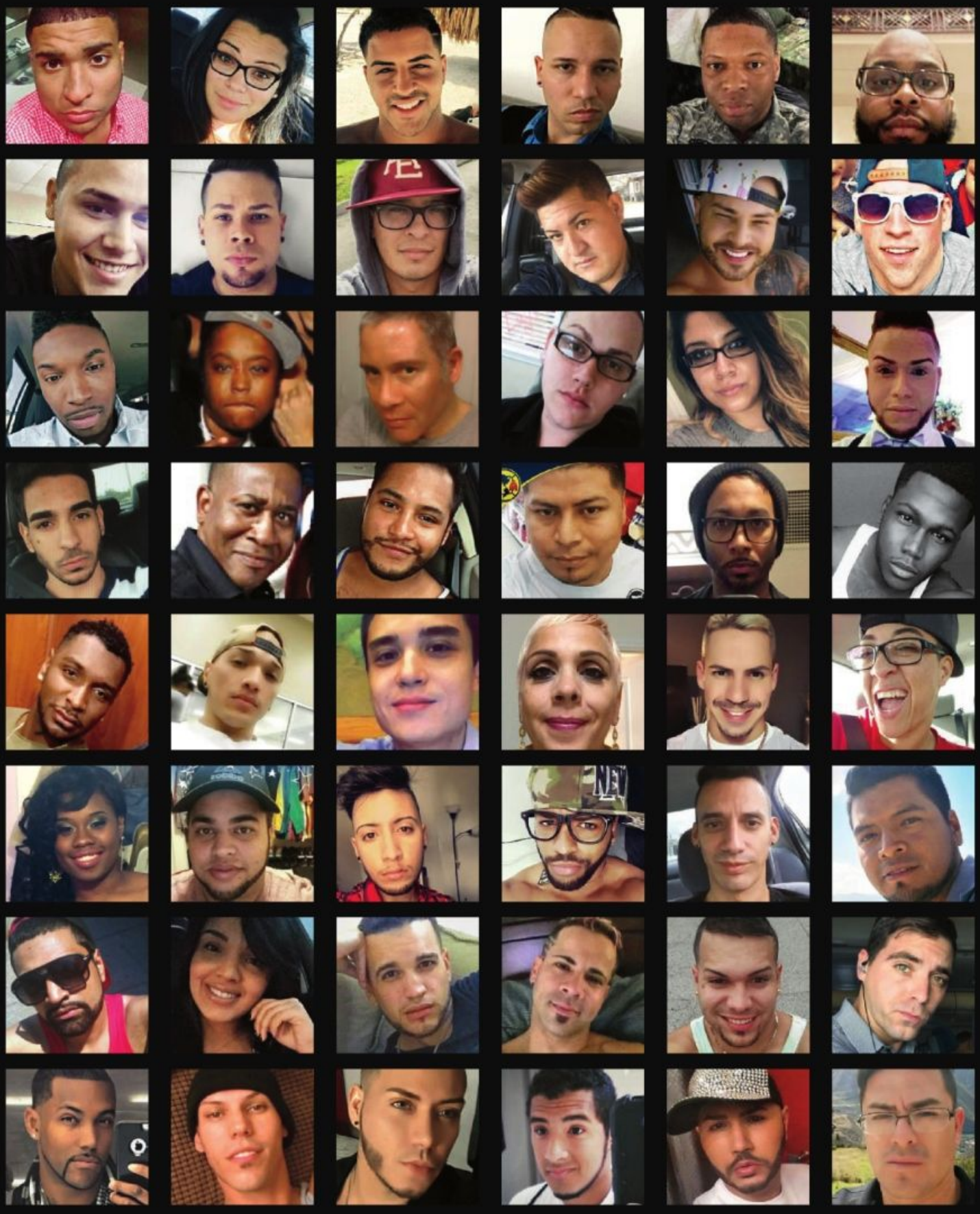
Akyra Monet Murray, 18
Jean C. Nieves Rodriguez, 27
Luis Omar Ocasio-Capo, 20
Geraldo A. Ortiz-Jimenez, 25
Eric Ivan Ortiz-Rivera. 36
Joel Rayon Paniagua, 31

Enrique L. Rios, Jr., 25
Yilmary Rodriguez Solivan, 24
Christopher Joseph Sanfeliz, 24
Xavier Emmanuel Serrano Rosado, 35
Gilberto Ramon Silva Menendez, 25
Edward Sotomayor Jr., 34

Shane Evan Tomlinson, 33
Martin Benitez Torres, 33
Juan P. Rivera Velazquez, 37
Luis S. Vielma, 22
Luis Daniel Wilson-Leon, 37
Jerald Arthur Wright, 31

Not pictured:
Alejandro Barrios Martinez, 21

AP (21); REUTERS (24); CHAVEZ-MARTINEZ: COURTESY ASHLEY CHAVEZ; AKYRA MURRAY: COURTESY NATALIE MURRAY



and our News Feeds into propaganda. In Iraq, they leveraged the smug overconfidence of our leaders into a classic insurgency. At Fort Hood, in San Bernardino and now in Orlando, they have weaponized our most unstable citizenry. They have turned our worst instincts inward. It is likely to happen again. All we control is our response.

CONSIDER THE SAD STATE of this terrorist and the impalpable challenge he presents. Omar Mateen was not a formidable person, not a foreign fighter and hardly an intellect. He had a fitful career, dropping out of criminal-justice school and working as a sales-clerk, prison guard and security officer. He had a long record of sympathy for radical jihad. For this new way of war, he made a perfect recruit, if you could call him that. Federal officials say they have no evidence he ever received direct orders or training from overseas. In fact, there were signs that he didn't fully understand the cause he claimed to support.

When he paused his massacre on the morning of June 12 to call 911, he pledged allegiance to Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. But he also expressed support for another Florida man he had known who had died in Syria as a suicide bomber for the Nusra Front, a rival of the Islamic State. This was a surface radicalism, more against the West than for any explainable alternative.

He had previously caught the attention of the FBI after spouting similar contradictions in 2013. Mateen told co-workers at a courthouse security job that his family had ties to the Sunni group al-Qaeda and that he belonged to the Shi'ite group Hizballah, its sworn enemy. "He admitted making the statements that his co-workers reported, but explained that he did it in anger," says FBI Director James Comey, "because he thought his co-workers were discriminating against him and teasing him because he was Muslim."

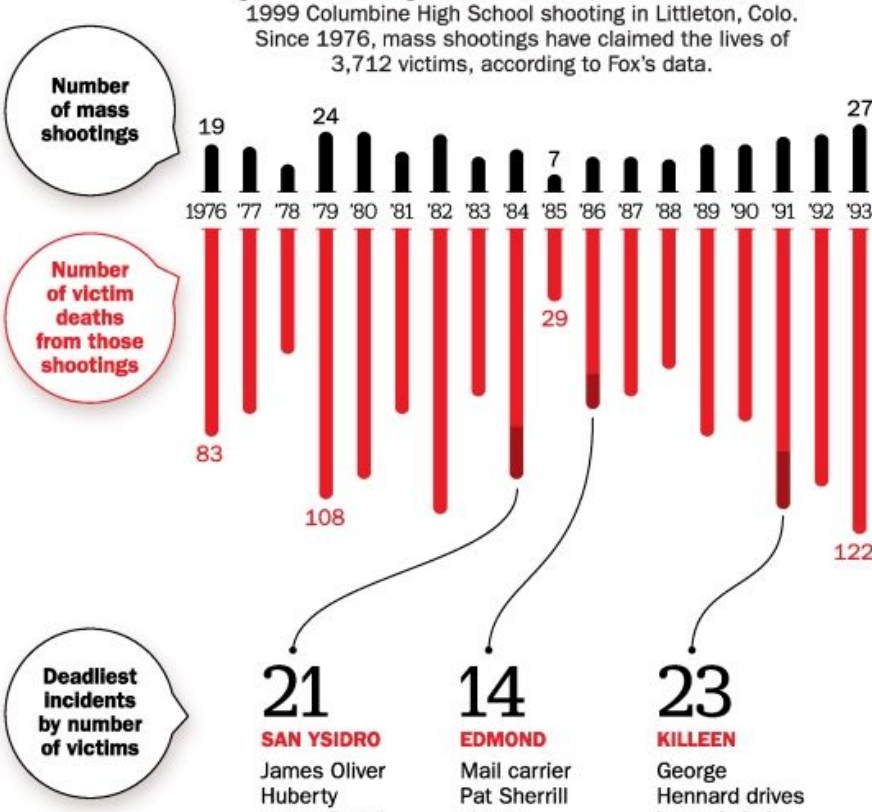
Social victimization was far from his only problem. Four years earlier, the parents of his first wife, Sitora Yusufiy, had flown to Florida and rescued her from his arms, she says. She says he was mentally unstable, deeply disturbed and traumatized. "I don't know how to describe someone who is laughing one minute and then the next his fists are clenched," she tells TIME. Once in their four-month marriage she fell asleep on the floor while watching TV, and he started beating her as she slept. He yanked the pillow out from under her, pulled her by her hair and then choked her. Hours later, when she asked him what had happened, he claimed he was angry that she hadn't finished the laundry. Later, he revealed that he'd had a fight with his father. "Omar was always trying to impress him and be the perfect son," she says.

That father, Seddique Mateen, rushed to the cameras after his son's bloodbath, neatly dressed in his best suit, holding multiple press availabilities day after day. He said he was horrified by what Omar had done, and forcefully condemned his actions. "This has nothing to do with religion," he told NBC News. Instead he suggested that his son was probably angered by gay men after seeing two men kissing in Miami a few weeks earlier.

But Seddique, who lives in Port St. Lucie, Fla., is a compromised character witness. Seddique, who says he has been a citizen since the 1980s, has a hobby of making sometimes delusional YouTube videos that he hopes are watched in Afghanistan. In some, he criticizes the Taliban, and in others he credits them for bringing Pashtuns together, slamming their

40 YEARS OF MASSACRES

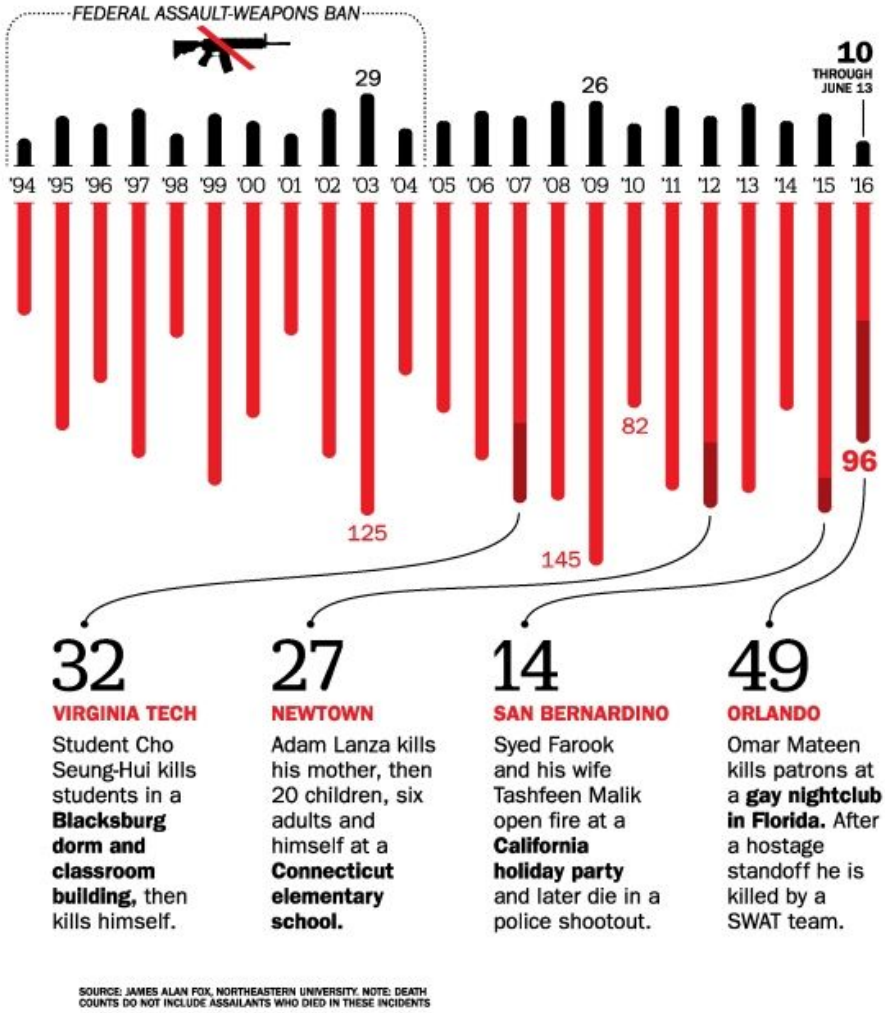
Over the past four decades, the U.S. has seen an average of 19 mass shootings a year, according to data compiled by James Alan Fox, a Northeastern University criminology professor. A mass shooting is defined in Fox's data as an incident with four or more deaths by gunshot, including events with multiple assailants like the 1999 Columbine High School shooting in Littleton, Colo. Since 1976, mass shootings have claimed the lives of 3,712 victims, according to Fox's data.



21
SAN YSIDRO
James Oliver Huberty opens fire at a **California McDonald's.** He is killed by a police sharpshooter.

14
EDMOND
Mail carrier Pat Sherrill shoots co-workers then himself at an **Oklahoma post office.**

23
KILLEEN
George Hennard drives into a **Luby's Cafeteria in Texas,** then shoots customers and himself.



SOURCE: JAMES ALAN FOX, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY. NOTE: DEATH COUNTS DO NOT INCLUDE ASSAILANTS WHO DIED IN THESE INCIDENTS

division by the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Occasionally he has dressed in green camouflage, an outfit he says he bought for $100 for a Halloween costume. Once he declared he was the rightful President of the country, instructing all Afghan government employees to obey his orders. "We want to find a hero to take the turban off Ashraf Ghani and slap him a few times very hard," he once said, speaking about the country's actual President.

Just hours after the attack, Seddique posted an image on his Facebook page of a green T-shirt imprinted with his own face and a campaign slogan, presumably for his next Afghan presidential campaign. "It shows our popularity," he explained in an interview inside his home, saying a supporter had sent him the image. Others had a different interpretation. "He's a megalomaniac, and according to all of my Pashtun contacts, he's totally unknown and totally irrelevant," says Barnett Rubin, a New York University professor and expert on Afghanistan.

Seddique recorded a video the day after the attack saying his son had done wrong, because humans do not need to punish gays: "God will punish those involved in homosexuality." And there is emerging evidence that Omar may have been failing on that last point. "It definitely popped up in my head whether he was totally straight," Yusufiy says now. "It's just making more sense in my head from my personal experience that this was probably it." Once she said she heard Seddique call his son gay in Farsi. The future killer laughed off his father.

But there is now little doubt that Omar lived some kind of double life. After remarrying and becoming a father, he appears to have established himself as a shadowy fixture of Central Florida's gay scene. The Orlando *Sentinel* interviewed four regulars of Pulse who said they had seen Omar show up at the club multiple times before his murder spree, over a series of years, sometimes drinking heavily and alone. Another Pulse regular told the Los Angeles *Times* that Omar had messaged him, on and off for a year, on a gay dating app, and there was evidence that Omar frequented online chat rooms for gay men. The Palm Beach *Post* found a former classmate who said that they would go to gay bars together and that the killer had once propositioned him romantically. Asked about these claims, Seddique responded wearily. "Don't ask me those questions," he said. "My son is not gay."

IT MAY BE MONTHS before the life of Omar Mateen is fully understood, but the ultimate details will not change his story's vexing crux: that a disturbed outcast, clearly angry and largely powerless, had found a way to destroy far more than can ever be allowed. Yet this is the way it is. In the clinical terminology used by Director of National Intelligence James Clapper last summer, "I think our more proximate threat are the so-called lone wolves."

There are proposals to change the rules of this game, but none will fully remove the danger. Obama has renewed his calls for bans on sales of assault rifles, like the one Mateen bought days earlier to accomplish his mayhem. He also called for Congress to ban gun sales to suspected terrorists who are placed on the federal no-fly list, a designation that does not appear to have been given to Mateen. (Trump, for his part, has pledged to discuss this issue with the National Rifle Association, which has long resisted the move.) Some at the FBI have been seeking more power to

THE GAY BAR AS SAFE SPACE HAS BEEN SHATTERED

By Daniel D'Addario

IF OMAR MATEEN SOUGHT NOT MERELY TO END LIVES BUT also to sow terror in the LGBT community, he couldn't have chosen a more apt target. For decades, gay bars have functioned not merely as watering holes but as community centers. They are—or were, until the morning of June 12—perceived as the ultimate safe space for queer people. Mateen's attack tore a hole in gay Americans' fragile sense of security. What does one do when a safe haven becomes a target?

The scope of the violence is unprecedented, but the fact is not: Past incidents like the burning of New Orleans' UpStairs Lounge, which killed 32 in June 1973, have only emphasized the importance of strongholds where gay people could socialize freely. The police raid on New York City's Stonewall Inn in June 1969 helped crystallize the challenges gay people faced—out of which came a movement. The incremental fight toward equality began at the bar.

But if gay bars took on meaning as centers for social and political organization, they're just as important for offering the opportunity to get out of the fray. Equality also means the right to one's own space, and gay bars provide a separateness, a freedom from scrutiny, that's available virtually nowhere else in the culture. Unlike members of marginalized ethnic or religious groups, gay people rarely grow up surrounded by family members who reflect their image. There is, at first, no mother tongue to describe their experience of life, no tradition to bind them to the world. Gay bars are where gay people have historically found one another to learn that language and invent those traditions. Being gay is not a religion, but a space for people to come together to celebrate who they are in the face of life's obstacles could be compared to a church.

In the past few years especially, the number of spaces in which gay people in much of America can feel safe has expanded. But tolerance and acceptance are hardly the same. Being gay is still different enough to necessitate a place where one can simply be oneself in public, free from mainstream judgment. That Mateen reportedly visited Pulse for years as a patron is heartbreaking; for whatever reason he came, he was likely welcomed by those he hated.

Now progress has been stripped away in one chaotic event. The gay bar, once a source of comfort in an uncomfortable world, feels vulnerable, even dangerous. The world needs places like Pulse—a bar founded by the sister of an AIDS victim in order to unite the Orlando gay scene—more than ever. Yes, the old saw about continuing to celebrate life in the face of those who'd glorify death does apply. But if there's to be mourning for people slain for being gay, let it happen at the bulwarks against hatred. We can't abandon them yet.

maintain investigations of suspects even if they show no early signs of criminal intent.

But others in the Justice Department, stubbornly deferential to the nation's founding fear of expansive police powers, warn against overstepping the bureau's primary mission of investigating crimes and arresting people who commit them. As far as we know, Mateen broke no laws before he committed mass slaughter. The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution guarantees American citizens the right not to be arrested just because someone thinks they might break the law in the future.

When Mateen first came on the FBI's radar, agents opened a preliminary investigation, which allows them to conduct limited surveillance and searches but not to use their most aggressive tools, like foreign intelligence warrants. The bureau used the authority it had to run undercover sources

SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

President Obama, with Vice President Joe Biden to his right, speaks at a National Security Council meeting on ISIS on June 14

against Mateen, search his "transactional records" and record his conversations, Comey says.

Preliminary investigations of terrorist suspects can run for six months to find evidence the person is a member of a terrorist group or is planning a specific terrorist attack. The agents on the case can get a six-month extension if they think there might be more to find. And if there's an indication the suspect really is planning an attack, the probe can be converted to a full investigation.

In Mateen's case, the FBI got one extension, then closed the case after a total of 10 months. Comey says he saw nothing in the FBI's handling of the Mateen case that should have been done differently. "People like their freedoms," says one former senior Administration official. "How would you like it if someone said something bad about you and the FBI took a look, didn't turn up anything, but then decided to keep monitoring you day and night for the rest of your life?"

Some former senior officials disagree. Tim Murphy, the FBI's retired No. 2 who worked to revise the bureau's investigative guidelines, says the current rules discourage agents from monitoring potential terrorists over the long term. Those guidelines retained the requirement that any preliminary investigation that did not find evidence of possible criminal or national threat activity must be closed after six months. "Someone should have been monitoring his social media 24/7," Murphy says, "but under the guidelines that is not allowed." He says the bureau should also have been alerted when Mateen bought weapons. One former Justice Department official who served in two administrations said the FBI would likely be able to use the incident to gain greater power in the future.

The presumptive Democratic nominee for President, Hillary Clinton, has responded by trying to contrast herself with Trump, using muscular rhetoric to call for incremental shifts instead of rash transformations. Clinton promised to assemble a team from "across our government" and check off a to-do list: better law-enforcement funding, closer work with American allies to stop money and weapons from moving around the world, tighter gun laws and more information sharing. "We are not a land of winners and losers," she said. "This has always been a country of 'we,' not 'me.'"

Trump has no interest in continuity. The premise of his campaign is that America's experts and leaders are stupid. If elected, he says, he will "suspend immigration from areas of the world where there's a proven history of terrorism against the United States, Europe or our allies." Then he will study the problem and present a new policy to the country. His early rhetoric suggests his final views will paint with a broad brush. In a speech after the attack, he described Afghanistan, a country the U.S. has spent 15 years of blood and treasure to salvage, as a lost cause with a dangerous population. "According to Pew Research, 99% of the people in Afghanistan support oppressive Shari'a law," he said, ignoring the broad range of opinion in the same polls about what Shari'a law means. "This could be a better, bigger, more horrible version than the legendary Trojan horse."

SHORTLY AFTER THE SHOOTING BEGAN at 2 a.m., David Ward went out to his apartment balcony across the street from the club. Patrons were streaming out in panic. Then he noticed something else. "A number of them turned back around when they realized that their friends that they came with weren't with them," he says.

One of those was 20-year-old Patience Carter, who was in town on a friend's family vacation. She

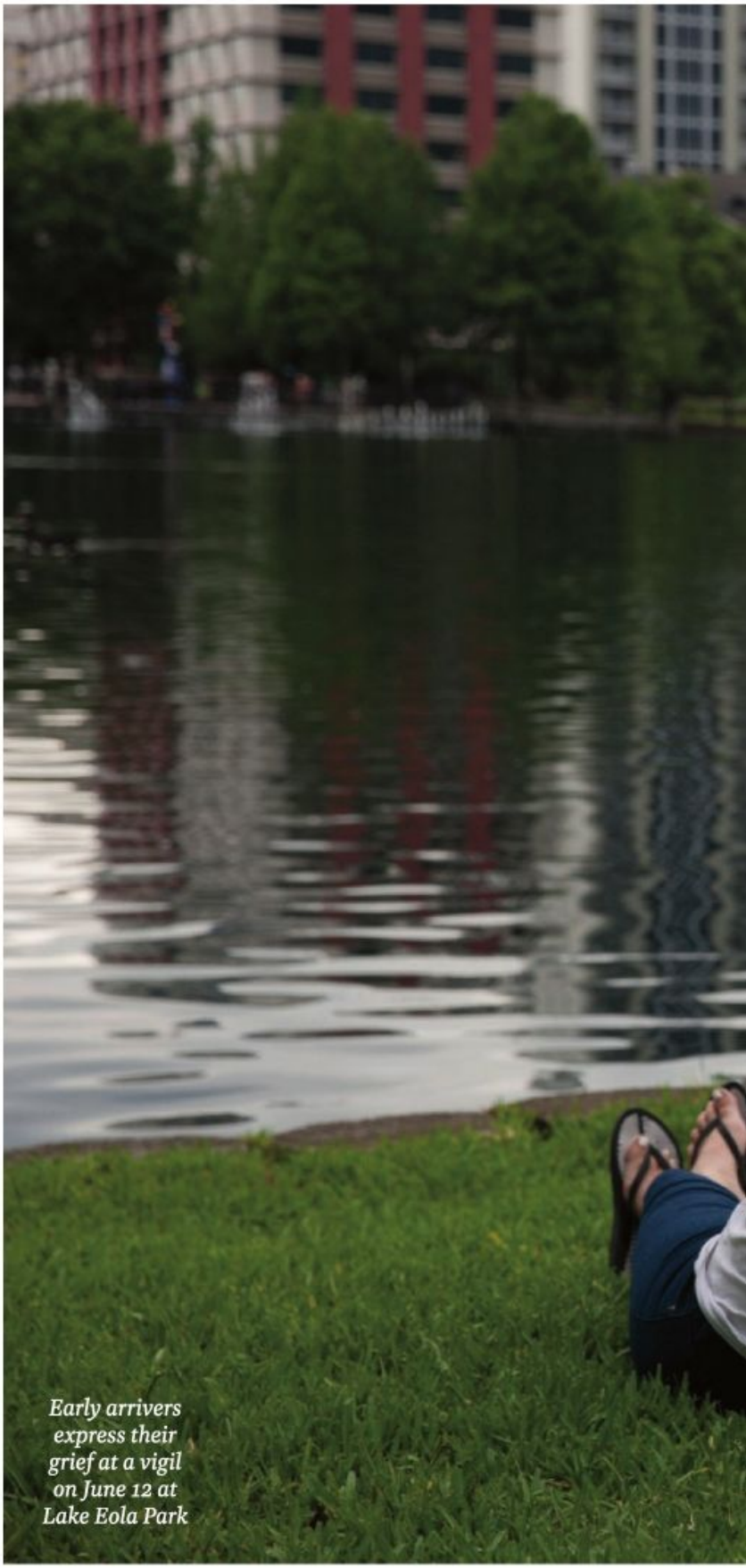
had come to the club with two friends. When only one made it out, they decided to go back. Soon they were trapped in the bathroom. The missing friend would be O.K., and Carter survived, with bullet wounds to both her legs. But the friend she returned with, Akyra Murray, was killed. Before she died, the 18-year-old called her parents from the bathroom. "Mom, I've been shot in the arm, help me, please. I'm scared. I am bleeding so bad," Natalie Murray remembers her daughter saying. Long after the shooting stopped, the cell phones of the fallen victims continued to ring in the club, as loved ones reached out.

Other survivors described the evil calm of the killer as he systematically checked his work, executing the wounded. At one point Carter heard him ask, "Are there any black people in here?" When a man responded, Mateen said, "I don't have a problem with black people. This is about my country. You guys suffered enough."

Mateen killed blacks anyway, along with Mexican citizens and Puerto Ricans. Most were gay and lesbian, working in the service sector at amusement parks, Starbucks and McDonald's. They were pharmacy technicians, accountants, travel-company operators. Some were still going to school, scheduling auditions to jump-start careers. They were single, planning to be married, in love. They ranged in age from 18 to 50. Many of their friends and relatives emphasized to reporters how much they loved Latin night at Pulse.

The ingredients are all here for the country to behave as it has in the past. "All I want for people to take away from this situation is this is literally a war we are fighting, between love and hate," says Aryam Guerrero, whose brother Juan Ramon Guerrero was killed with his boyfriend Christopher "Drew" Leinonen. "I just need everybody to love. Just give so much love." The two men will have a joint funeral service. "If it's not a funeral, they were going to have a wedding," Guerrero explains.

That is how modern democracies have held together in times of trial. In exchange, they agree to embrace some risk, to endure some measure of future pain. They tinker with TSA screening procedures but don't pull people out of line for the color of their skin or the writing in their holy book. They debate surveillance laws, not the right to speak freely. They hope that in the next assault, the damage isn't so bad that they have to turn on one another or give up what they value. It's an imperfect system, a vulnerable one. It depends on some measure of trust in strangers. And it can always be replaced with something else. —*With reporting by* DAVID VON DREHLE/KANSAS CITY; MASSIMO CALABRESI *and* ELIZABETH DIAS/WASHINGTON; MELISSA CHAN/NEW YORK; CHARLOTTE ALTER *and* ILENE PRUSHER/FORT PIERCE; ZEKE J. MILLER/ORLANDO; *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT/CLEVELAND



Early arrivers express their grief at a vigil on June 12 at Lake Eola Park

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

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The Hollow Alliance

PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS

North American and European leaders watch the presentation of their flags at a NATO summit in Wales in September 2014

The historic concord between the U.S. and Europe made the West safe and rich. Now it's in danger of collapse

By Ian Bremmer

FOR DECADES, THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP has been crucial to international security and the stability of the global economy. Through organizations like NATO, U.S. and European leaders have worked together to advance democracy, liberty, rule of law and the market-based values that have helped lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty around the world. There has never been a greater alliance of capable and like-minded partners.

But today that alliance is weaker and less influential than at any other time since the 1930s. Americans and Europeans are distracted by challenges at home. Anger at government and public anxiety over the impact of globalization are on the rise. Emerging powers in Asia and elsewhere are asserting new values, and the U.S. and Europe are increasingly at odds over how best to adapt to a changing world.

Neither side seems to realize that an alliance that has been the backbone of the postwar era is crumbling. Europe is preoccupied with internal challenges like the migrant crisis, the upcoming referendum on Britain's membership in the E.U. and ongoing disputes with Russia. In the U.S. presidential campaign, the transatlantic relationship has been less than an afterthought, overshadowed by antitrade rhetoric over China and posturing about American greatness. The horrific mass shooting in Orlando on June 12 and its possible connection to ISIS will only demand more attention from an exhausted and angry electorate.

Yet the decades-old U.S.-Europe partnership remains essential. "Globalization seems to have made the Atlantic wider, when it needs to become smaller," says former British Foreign Secretary David Miliband. "A multipolar world does not diminish the need for transatlantic cooperation. It enhances it. From the pivot to Asia, which is necessary on both sides of the Atlantic, to the management of the global commons, shared values need to be turned into shared priorities."

THE TRANSATLANTIC RIFT has been years in the making. In the 1990s, the war in the former Yugoslavia generated intense resentment among Americans who were frustrated that Europeans depended on the U.S. to solve European security problems. The U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 provoked unprecedented resistance from France and Germany. The global financial crisis stoked European skepticism of U.S.-style laissez-faire capitalism. The U.S. National Security Agency was caught spying on friendly governments, including European ones, raising fears that American Internet companies had given U.S. intelligence agencies deep access to European secrets—which led German Chancellor Angela Merkel and others to call for a European Internet walled off from the U.S.

Yet these events are symptoms, not sources, of the cancer infecting transatlantic relations. The problem is that there is no credible Cold War–scale rival to unite the U.S. and Europe in the face of a common threat. China is no democracy, and the state plays a heavy role in its economy, but there is a deep economic interdependence in its relations with both the U.S. and Europe. Russia can cause trouble, but it lacks the Soviet Union's global military reach and broad ideological appeal. Without an existential enemy, it's easy to imagine that it's not worth the trouble to bring the U.S. and Europe together.

And right now it is trouble—a lot of it. After the bloody, exhausting wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Americans have turned inward. In Donald Trump, a major political party is likely to nominate a candidate who questions the basic value of the transatlantic relationship. The E.U., faced with a bewildering number of internal challenges, is fragmenting. On June 23, British voters will go to the polls to determine whether the U.K. will remain in the E.U. A vote to leave would create tremendous turmoil for both the British and E.U. economies. It would remove Washington's closest E.U. ally from the union. And it could encourage exit referendums in countries like France, Italy and the Netherlands, where public support for a vote is already dangerously high. Unlike Britain, these countries are core members of the euro zone and the Schengen Agreement on open borders. Their exit could derail the entire European project.

But as with so many other issues confronting the U.S. and European governments, these existential risks are not shared across the Atlantic, as during the Cold War. The lack of a common challenge—and a common mission—is reflected in debates over the budget of NATO, the military arm of the transatlantic relationship. Of NATO's 28 members, only the U.S., Britain, Poland, Greece and Estonia spend at least 2% of GDP on defense, the organization's baseline expectation, and in absolute terms, the U.S. spends nearly three times as much on defense as the other 27 members combined. Given that NATO's primary purpose is to defend Europe, not the U.S., it's not surprising that Americans are left to wonder why a wealthy country like Germany can't take responsibility for its defense.

Admiral James Stavridis, former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, says the alliance is still worth the cost. "For all its imperfections and challenges, NATO is the best pool of partners the U.S. has in the world: 28 other nations with shared values, high-technology militaries, willingness to participate in global operations like Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, and deeply intertwined economies," he says. "All of that will continue to matter deeply."

But it's becoming increasingly clear that U.S. and European interests are diverging in basic ways. Europe faces a series of challenges that don't have the same impact on the U.S. At the top of the list is the flow into Europe of war refugees and economic migrants from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Eritrea and other countries. More than 1.8 million illegal border crossings into Europe were made by migrants in 2015. U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry announced last year that the U.S., home to about 310 million people, would accept about 85,000 refugees from around the world this year but just 10,000 from Syria. Compare that with Germany, a country of 80 million people, which took in about 1.1 million migrants last year. The U.S. simply doesn't see the migrant crisis—and the causes driving it—as Europe does.

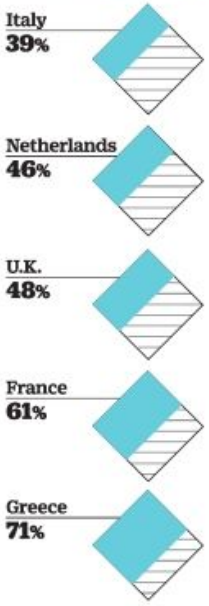
Even on terrorism, a priority for the U.S. and Europe, the two sides are drifting apart. It was striking after the attacks in Paris last November that the French government turned for military support not to NATO, which is treaty-bound to defend members, but to the E.U., activating a rarely cited clause of the Lisbon Treaty that calls for help from other E.U. members. An appeal to NATO would have required a level of cooperation that French officials felt Washington was unlikely to offer quickly, and with Paris bleeding, the French weren't prepared to wait. And the Orlando attack shows that the biggest terrorist threat the U.S. faces could be from its own citizens—one more way terrorism can isolate.

The U.S. and the E.U. will never fully agree on how best to handle Russia, mainly because Europe is far more vulnerable to the trouble Moscow can start. Even before sanctions were put in place following the start of the Ukraine conflict, U.S. goods exports to Russia in 2013 totaled just $11 billion and U.S. imports from Russia amounted to just $27 billion. Russia was America's 23rd largest trade partner that year. But Russia is the E.U.'s third biggest trade partner. Germany and most East European countries need Russian energy exports, France needs Russian defense contracts, and Britain needs Russian financial clients. Countries like Italy, Greece and

European malaise

Beset by a slow economy and the migrant crisis, E.U. members are losing faith

Percentage of Europeans who view the E.U. unfavorably



SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

British Prime Minister David Cameron is working to keep the U.K. in the E.U.

PREVIOUS PAGES: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: CAMERON: MATT FROST—ITV/GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: SPENCER PLATT—GETTY IMAGES

Cyprus have already criticized E.U. sanctions, even if they aren't ready yet to vote against them. The U.S.-Europe divide on Putin—a divide the Russian President has done his best to widen—will be with us for years to come.

EUROPEAN WAVERING ON RUSSIA reveals something telling: U.S. and European values are diverging. The stark ideological choices imposed by the Cold War order obscured underlying differences in political and economic values both within Western Europe and between Europe and the U.S. Those differences are now impossible to ignore, and the post–Cold War "rise of the rest" has brought an array of competing values into the international system, from Chinese-style state-driven capitalism, to Russia's aggressive use of energy exports as a political weapon, to protectionism as practiced in India and Brazil.

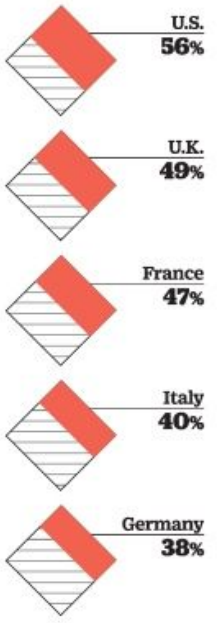
At the same time, Europe and the U.S. are experiencing individual identity crises. In Europe, the influx of mainly Muslim migrants—and the quotas for how many of them each member must accept—comes at a time of heightened public fear of Muslim terrorists, fueling the anger of European voters already disgusted with unaccountable bureaucrats in Brussels. The result is a surge in support for nationalist, anti-E.U. parties like the Alternative for Deutschland in Germany and the National Front in France. The Sweden Democrats, Austria's Freedom Party and Switzerland's People's Party have all earned double-digit support in recent elections. Europe is also plagued with secessionist pressures that the U.S. doesn't face. If Britons decide to leave the E.U., Scotland might hold another referendum on its future within the U.K.—and this time could well vote for independence. Catalans are threatening to declare independence from Spain, which has been unable to form a government since an election earlier this year. Europe is divided, vulnerable and insecure.

For many American voters, the unaccountable bureaucrats live in Washington. Trump and Bernie Sanders, populists with little experience or interest in foreign policy, have dominated the headlines, and Trump in particular has attacked what he says are free-riding allies. Both men gripe that Washington absorbs too much of the cost of NATO. Both say recent trade deals have victimized the American worker, and both are opposed to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), a major trade deal that American and European leaders have been pushing hard, with little traction. This tough political climate has even forced pro-trade Democrat and likely next President Hillary Clinton to pretend she opposes new trade deals.

Unready for action

NATO members are treaty-bound to defend one another, but many aren't eager to fight

Percentage of support in NATO countries for the use of force to defend an ally



SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Trump has said NATO is obsolete and too costly for Americans

It's no longer clear what Western powers stand for. Do American voters want their government to spend U.S. resources to promote democracy, freedom of speech, rule of law and human rights in other countries? Support for Trump leaves that commitment very much in doubt. Are European leaders committed to these values? Border controls are on the rise throughout Europe. It's hard to export values that your people may not profess. And if Europe and the U.S. don't share values, what do they share?

EUROPE AND AMERICA are stronger together. But the continued hollowing out of the transatlantic partnership would ensure that dependence on Chinese investment, Russian energy and the cooperation of autocratic governments like Turkey's will trump political principle. That will prove a loss for a partnership that for all its flaws and limitations has done more than any other in history to promote democracy, freedom of expression and rule of law.

Even if Britons vote to remain in the E.U. and Trump is soundly defeated, U.S. and European leaders have a lot of work to do if they want to save their relationship. First, U.S. and European policymakers must convince skeptical citizens that NATO will enhance security for the world, the West and each member country. That may mean expanding its mission, because if the organization can't help with urgent issues like the migrant crisis, what is its true purpose? And European leaders have to persuade voters to pay their fair share to support NATO, and counter the criticisms of isolationists like Trump.

On the economic side, U.S. and European leaders should tighten trade and investment ties by committing to the completion of TTIP. The U.S. should work more closely with Europe to combat Chinese restrictions on market access and the theft of Western intellectual property. But they should also join Chinese-led organizations like the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank to help influence its mission and operations. To restore lost trust from the spying scandals, and extend counterterrorism capacity, Washington should invest in a joint surveillance program with NATO allies. And the U.S. must accept a much larger number of Middle Eastern migrants to help ease the burden on Europe.

From the ashes of World War II, U.S. and European leaders forged an alliance that has done more than any other in history to promote international development and individual liberty. In containing the threat of Soviet expansion, the U.S. helped defend Europe until one famous wall fell. Will Washington be there to help as new walls rise? ◻

What millennials already know about growing old

By Laura L. Carstensen

WE THINK OF THEM AS FOREVER YOUNG. BUT MILLENNIALS are the first generation in human history who can not only anticipate reaching the age of 90 in large numbers but who will spend about one-third of their lives as what we now refer to as "old people."

This is a hugely significant change, and one that comes with many implications. Even today, with the exception of occasional hand-wringing about Social Security and Medicare, policymakers spend no time thinking about what it means for the U.S. to have an estimated 8 million people in their 90s by the year 2050.

We've never had to ask what the 20s and 30s should look like when lives extend into the 90s and, for many, beyond 100 years. Are millennials living their lives differently from earlier generations? We undertook the Sightlines Project (sightlinesproject.stanford.edu) at the Stanford Center on Longevity in order to address such questions. Sightlines focuses on metrics related to healthy lifestyles, social engagement and financial security, which predict long-term outcomes. We examine how six different age groups compare with people at the same age just 10 to 20 years ago. This way, we produce dynamic snapshots of changes early on that foreshadow the future population.

WE FIND GOOD NEWS about millennials. Smoking rates are starkly down, and exercise is up. More than young people in the past, millennials have friends they count on in tough times. More millennials have college degrees than do prior generations, and there is no better predictor of functioning well at advanced ages than education.

Yet when we turn to financial security, there are alarming signs. Millennial poverty is up, and employment is down, college debt is more than five times what it was just 20 years ago, and for those saddled with debt a more frightening financial picture emerges. Both home ownership and participation in retirement savings accounts, the two avenues that Americans follow to secure their financial futures, are starkly down in a generation that needs to prepare for lives of unprecedented length. More than a quarter of millennials report that they could not cover a $3,000 emergency, whether with their own savings or by borrowing from family or friends, and thus live day to day with the knowledge that one mistake or accident could lead to financial ruin.

If we unpack the larger set of findings about millennials, however, we can see the outlines of a new model that (with some key alterations) could make sense in this era of long life. Many people have noted—and disparaged—the fact that so many millennials still live with their parents. Millennials are also less likely to be married or have children than were Gen X-ers or boomers at the same age. But these habits could be the right approach for a generation that could find itself working into its 70s or beyond and perhaps never retiring. Viewed that way, living with parents isn't a sign of failure but an adaptation to new family structures that include fewer siblings and cousins but more generations under the same roof. It allows them to nurture multiple lifelong friendships when previous 20-somethings were busy looking for spouses. If millennials face six decades of work instead of four, and lives that could stretch even longer, leaving home at 18 or even 22 may make little sense.

IF LIVING WITH PARENTS LONGER allows young people to pay down debt and save for their futures, it would have great merit. Under the best of circumstances, millennials are likely to change jobs several times. Being financially prepared not just for emergencies but for periods between jobs will be even more important than it is today. Modest investments in savings vehicles, like Roth IRAs, which allow after-tax contributions to grow without ever being taxed again, can allow compound interest to work magic across many decades. Opening tax-advantaged education accounts can help people return to school as they interweave work with education. Living with Mom and Dad could allow millennials to save for down payments on houses. Imagine buying a house at 35 (instead of 25) and paying off the mortgage at 65, just as you approach the last third of life, offering flexibility to help children, travel, make philanthropic gifts or return to school.

That's a bright prospect. But it takes planning. Which isn't in our nature. Very elderly people often remark that they arrived at old age by surprise—most of their peers didn't make it. Which is a reminder: the next time the conversation turns to longevity, let's talk about the young.

Carstensen is the director of the Stanford Center on Longevity

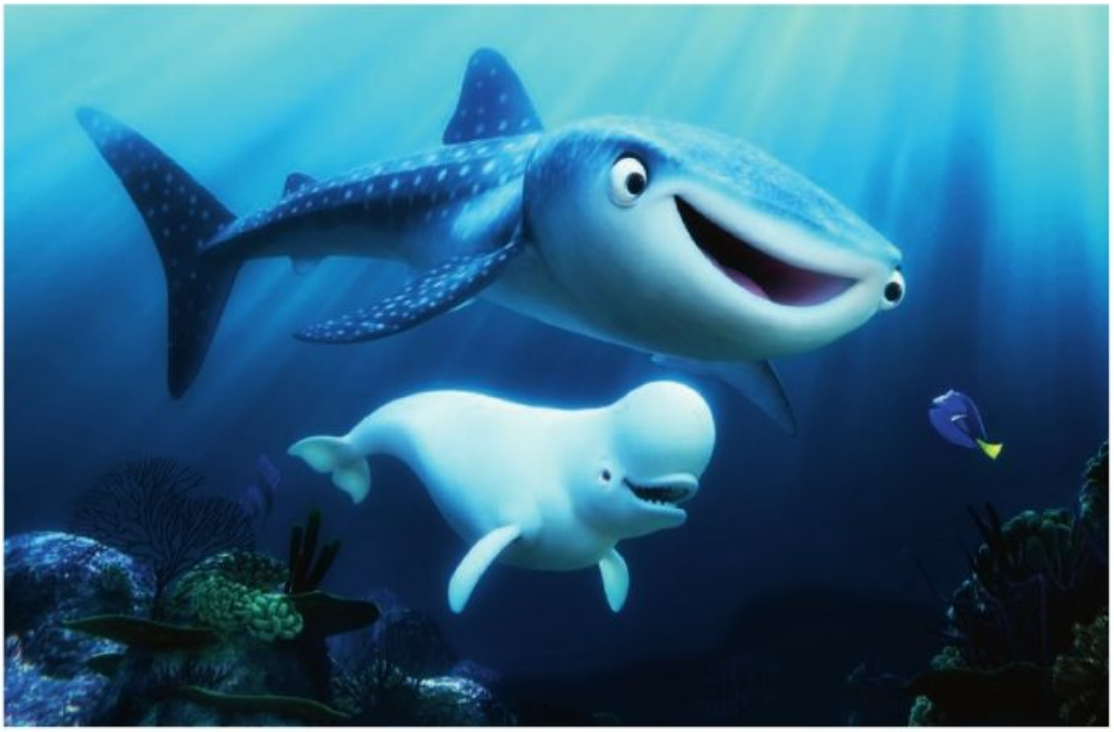
MILLENNIAL MARKERS

Financial challenges More than two-thirds of the most educated generation are in debt from credit cards and student loans, while participation in savings accounts has dropped in the age group.

Wiser choices Less than 30% of millennials smoke tobacco—a one-fifth decline from their predecessors in 1999. They also have more reliable social networks than those their age did in 1995.

Time Off

'HE CAPTURES DREAMS AND SEALS THEM IN GLASS JARS.' —NEXT PAGE



Thirteen years after Finding Nemo, *Dory has a new quest and an oceanful of fintastic new pals*

MOVIES

A little fish goes a long way in Pixar's bubble-light *Finding Dory*

By Stephanie Zacharek

JUST AS A CIGAR IS NEVER REALLY just a cigar, a Pixar movie is never really just a Pixar movie. Grownups delight in pointing out that these painstakingly crafted entertainments are always, deep down, about important things: the inner life of preteen girls, the need for family and community, the recognition that it's O.K. to be different or to feel overwhelmed by everyday life. Meanwhile, kids just come for the talking fish.

And in the case of *Finding Dory,* what a talking fish! One of the most memorable supporting players in Pixar's enormously beloved 2003 *Finding Nemo,* in which a drain proved to be the salvation of one lost little barrier-reef clownfish, was Dory (voiced by Ellen DeGeneres), a cheerful ocean denizen with short-term memory loss. In that movie Dory—technically a regal blue tang, only Pixarlated into a cobalt blue wedge of wriggliness with googly eyes—was key in helping dad clownfish Marlin (Albert Brooks) find the missing Nemo. Both return in this new adventure, along with Nemo (now voiced by Hayden Rolence), only this time it's Dory who's lost, albeit in a more existential way.

A flashback shows baby Dory being schooled by her doting, sensible parents (Diane Keaton and Eugene Levy) in how to manage her memory problems. But an undertow whisks her away from them, and she's never able to find her way back. Dory grows to adulthood unable to remember where she came from, though she, Marlin and Nemo form a happy enough make-shift family. Then Dory begins to recall

DISNEY/PIXAR

scraps of her past and vows to find the parents she lost. Her quest takes her to a marine wildlife rehabilitation facility—but also separates her from Nemo and Marlin, testing the bonds of kinship and finship.

It's easy enough to tease out *Finding Dory*'s significant themes and teachable moments. But anyone can come up with a noble humanistic idea, or two, in an instant. It's much more challenging to dream up a whole movie's worth of freewheeling, air-bubble-light jokes and inventive sight gags. In the end, the real value of *Finding Dory* (directed by Andrew Stanton and Angus MacLane) lies in its goofy effervescence. Although DeGeneres' Dory, with her breathless stream-of-consciousness patter, is unavoidably likable, the cast of supporting characters here may be even better. Ed O'Neill supplies the voice of Hank, a selfish, irascible octopus who uses his gift for camouflage in some outlandish ways—when we first see him, he's masquerading as the dangling kitten in the classic HANG IN THERE! poster, a juxtaposition of weird visual ideas that shouldn't go together at all but qualifies as a small flash of genius.

Other anthropomorphized beasties include Destiny and Bailey (Kaitlin Olson and Ty Burrell), a nearsighted whale shark and a beluga whale with ESP-like sonar who become a sort of marine dream team. There's also a duo of sea lions (Idris Elba and Dominic West, in a mini–*Wire* reunion) who are proprietary about the particular rock they've chosen to lounge on, and if their cockney accents surprise you—well, you can't really know where a sea lion comes from just by looking, can you?

Best of all is Becky, a scraggly seabird who's clearly barmy—you can tell by her every-which-way red eyes and the way her feathers stick out at jagged angles, a perpetual avian bad-hair day—but nevertheless has a sterling mothering instinct and an unwavering commitment to doing the right thing. Her voice (provided by Torbin Xan Bullock) is really just a squawk, but it's a squawk with soul, and she's emblematic of everything that's buoyant and zig-zaggingly right about *Finding Dory*. Come for the life lessons. Stay for the bird with the crazy eyes. ◻

REVIEW

Spielberg's *BFG* honors Roald Dahl's wily, waggish spirit

ROALD DAHL'S FUNNY, DARKLY glittering children's novels are so inherently cinematic that adapting them to the big screen seems pointless. His 1982 novel *The BFG*, about a big, friendly giant—BFG for short—is so expansive, so rich with grumbly joy, that you'd think it would have to be sized down considerably to fit.

But in this adaptation, Steven Spielberg—working from a screenplay by the late Melissa Mathison, screenwriter of *E.T.*—gets the proportions just right, while preserving Dahl's wily, mischievous spirit. His big, friendly secret weapon is Mark Rylance as the BFG. The story's heroine, young Sophie (Ruby Barnhill, suitably precocious without being overly cute), is plucked from her London orphanage by a gargantuan hand and whisked away to a place she doesn't recognize. She's been kidnapped, in a kindly sort of way, by a vegetarian giant who means no harm. Taller than an aged oak tree, with knobby knees and elbows and a pair of elephantine flared ears capable of picking up "all the secret whisperings of the world," the BFG (a computer-enhanced but instantly recognizable Rylance) teaches Sophie everything he knows about his job: he captures dreams and seals them in glass jars—where they glow in translucent, jelly-bean colors—before using a massive trumpet to blow them into the minds of humans as they sleep. In his off-hours, he relaxes with his favorite drink, a fizzy, flatulence-inducing libation called frobscottle.

Spielberg takes clear delight in this gorgeously ridiculous story, as well as in its star. Rylance's BFG, a fragile, gentle soul with searching, expressive eyes and clumsy feet clad in hippie sandals, is a giant too big for the world and yet fully alive to it. His higgledy-piggledy cadences and incessant malapropisms—"butterflies" become "buttery-flies"—come to sound like music, which, come to think of it, is the only way to properly adapt Dahl. He must be *heard* properly, and Spielberg and Rylance pick up every nuance. The frobscottle kick is implied. —S.Z.

Rylance's computer-animated BFG, with Barnhill: the ears have it

Dano, left, is a deserted-island castaway and Radcliffe a dead man talking

REVIEW

A bizarre, bro-dacious bond can't keep *Swiss Army Man* from stranding itself

THE SUBTITLE OF DANIEL KWAN AND DANIEL SCHEINERT'S deeply self-conscious black comedy *Swiss Army Man* could be *What Dudes Talk About When They Talk About Being Dudes,* or maybe just *Exile in Guyville.* Paul Dano's Hank is a man marooned on a deserted island, hungry and lonely and about to commit suicide until a potential friend washes up onshore. The catch is that this new compadre—played by Daniel Radcliffe, he'll come to be called Manny—is a corpse.

Yet Manny ends up being the life force—albeit a dead, flatulent one—that keeps Hank alive. A kind of magic-realism survival tool, he serves as a gas-powered jet ski, a water fountain and, when he mysteriously begins talking, a friend. Because Manny has no memory of the world, Hank explains it all to him, in disquisitions exploring romantic love and longing, masturbation, shame, parent-child estrangement and more. The world they build in their dual isolation becomes a ramshackle paradise, a place to explore complex male feelings.

The conceit works, to a point, largely because Dano and Radcliffe are so open to the more tender aspects of Kwan and Scheinert's madness. And a sequence in which Hank re-creates for Manny the glorious, prosaic essence of riding a bus—complete with a rolling paper landscape pieced together from the pages of an old magazine Hank has found—is truly lovely. That Hank and Manny open up to each other as they do is remarkable, particularly considering one of them is dead. But the film's contrived quirkiness grows wearisome, and essentially the movie is really just two guys talking in the wilderness for 90 minutes. They're not the only ones needing to be rescued. —S.Z.

> 'It's a deeply compassionate film full of love for humanity and human weirdness.'
>
> **DANIEL RADCLIFFE,** in *Entertainment Weekly,* on why he agreed to play a corpse in *Swiss Army Man*

REVIEW

Interrogating an auteur in *De Palma*

ONE NEEDN'T SUFFER recurring *Carrie* nightmares or keep *Scarface* looped on the flat screen to have a good time at *De Palma*—a title that storms across the screen in forbidding blood red letters before introducing a title character as comfortably rumpled and candid as any filmmaker on camera is likely to be. Interviewed by Noah Baumbach and Jake Paltrow, Brian De Palma *(Dressed to Kill, The Untouchables, Sisters)* names names, fesses up about where and why he shoplifted much of his style (mostly Hitchcock) and comes clean about less-satisfying efforts. ("There was no bigger disaster than *Blow Out,*" he says of the 1981 John Travolta vehicle. On *The Bonfire of the Vanities,* "It should have been tougher and harder, and it still bombed." Re: *Mission: Impossible*—"I was ready to make a big hit.")

De Palma is mostly a one-sided argument for its subject; he's never quite pinned down, for instance, about violence and women. He's allowed to ruminate, largely, and what's revealed is an artist impulsively self-reflective, whatever side of the camera he's on. —JOHN ANDERSON

De Palma and Travolta on the set of the "disaster" Blow Out

THE BFG: DISNEY; SWISS ARMY MAN, DE PALMA: A24

TIME PICKS

MOVIES
The documentary ***Tickled*** (June 17) goes from lighthearted to disturbing as a Kiwi journalist delves into the surprisingly dark underbelly of the world of competitive endurance tickling.

MUSIC
Jon Bellion, co-writer of Eminem and Rihanna's Grammy-winning 2013 hit "The Monster," released his debut album, ***The Human Condition,*** on June 10, layering his smooth pop vocals over pulsing hip-hop beats.

BOOKS
Pulitzer Prize winner Anne Tyler offers a modern take on *The Taming of the Shrew* in ***Vinegar Girl*** (June 21), in which a preschool teacher's father asks her to marry his visa-reliant lab assistant.

TELEVISION
In the BBC miniseries ***Thirteen*** (June 23), a young woman who escapes from her kidnapper after spending half her life held captive deals with how much has changed in her absence.

RETURNING

UnREAL heroes so bad they're good

WHEN WE MEET THE BE-leaguered Rachel (Shiri Appleby) in the debut season of Lifetime's *UnREAL*, she's coaxing gown-clad women into catfights for a *Bachelor*-like reality show while wearing a THIS IS WHAT A FEMINIST LOOKS LIKE T-shirt. Her boss Quinn (Constance Zimmer) watches from a control room where she labels contestants "wifey" or "slut." But by the premiere of the second season, Rachel has dropped any qualms she once had about manipulating other women. When she gets a contestant to make a tearful on-camera confession, Rachel proclaims, "I feel like God." She and Quinn even get matching tattoos that read: MONEY. DICK. POWER.

As it skewers a genre that pits women against one another, *UnREAL* offers complex female characters who, in behaving badly, stand toe-to-toe with men like Walter White. "There are other examples of female antiheroes," says show co-creator Marti Noxon. "We wanted to push it to the limit and say, 'That's not despicable enough.'"

Rachel's predecessors—*Weeds*' Nancy Botwin, *Damages*' Ellen Parsons, *Orange Is the New Black*'s Piper Chapman—start out likable, but adversity reveals their true, selfish natures. Rachel's arc more closely mirrors those of Don Draper and Tony Soprano: "bad" from the pilot. Quinn too defies stereotypes: more than just the "bitchy boss," she exhibits enough humor and pathos for the audience to sympathize even as it recoils from her cruelty. It's a stark contrast to the real *Bachelor* franchise, where contestants are starkly defined as "good" (read: chaste) or bad. Women have complained that its producers reward male promiscuity while punishing female friskiness. If *UnREAL* can unravel that double standard via satire, Noxon and her team will be well satisfied.

It's remarkable that this effort to upend gender norms is happening on Lifetime, best known for movies featuring women in various states of distress. "The most popular shows among female viewers are all dark: *Sons of Anarchy, True Blood, Breaking Bad,*" says Noxon. "The executives suspected rightly that there would be an appetite for females who were behaving despicably as well." The award-winning *UnREAL* is the grimmest show about women yet to come from a growing community of female showrunners, including Noxon's sister-in-law Jenji Kohan *(Orange Is the New Black)*, Shonda Rhimes *(Scandal)* and Jill Soloway *(Transparent)*, among others. "Everyone talks about the boys' club," she says. "There's starting to be a girls' club too."

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

As reality-show producer Rachel, Appleby, far right, interviews a contestant

THIRTEEN: BBC; UNREAL: LIFETIME; ANIMAL KINGDOM: TNT; OPRAH: OWN

REVIEW

Animal Kingdom and *Greenleaf* are summer surprises

By Daniel D'Addario

JUST AS MOVIEGOERS SPEND THE HOTTEST months sating their collective appetite for car chases and alien invasions, so do television viewers find themselves, this time of year, hunting for programming of a slightly lower brow. This summer, two new prime-time soaps—TNT's *Animal Kingdom* and OWN's *Greenleaf*—provide gratifyingly visceral jolts, yet both have things to say.

Animal Kingdom, based on a 2010 Australian film, moves the action to California and gets its juice from a crucial casting choice: Ellen Barkin takes over what had been an Oscar-nominated role for Jacki Weaver as Smurf, a crime-family matriarch. Barkin practically slithers into the scenes she shares with "my boys," the sons who rob jewelry stores for her. She pays them back with homemade green juices and meat loaf, prepared with a lurid smile and endless attention. Her bemusement, as she watches her progeny fight or do piles of drugs, is tinged with an odd edge of attraction. It's no wonder she has pushed them into a life of crime. She doesn't just want money—she's energized by bad behavior.

Smurf is in complete control of her sons at all times, but she herself is a volatile madwoman. It's little wonder that there's no father in the picture. Barkin convinces you that Smurf has the sheer force of will to generate children from her ribs. An innocent grandson (Finn Cole), who has just moved in with her after 11 years without contact, watches her with confusion. He (and we) haven't met someone like Smurf before. Her bordering-on-incestuous leering would feel like a cheap bid for edginess in the hands of a performer less able to sell a taste for extremity, but it only emphasizes Barkin's talent. She's spinning an eerie tale of maternal devotion on the margins of a conventional crime story.

Similar things are happening on OWN's *Greenleaf,* a soap that alternates between unartfully delivered exposition, provocative weirdness and real insight. Like *Animal Kingdom,* it's a story of reconnection with family members better left in the past: Grace Greenleaf (Merle Dandridge), a gifted preacher, returns to the Memphis megachurch run by her father (Keith David). She's there to mourn her late sister but ends up drawn into her sprawling family even as she observes her father's decadent lifestyle with disapproval.

BARKIN HAS BITE
She plays the savage matriarch of a crime family, reconnecting with her grandson (Finn Cole) after the death of his mother

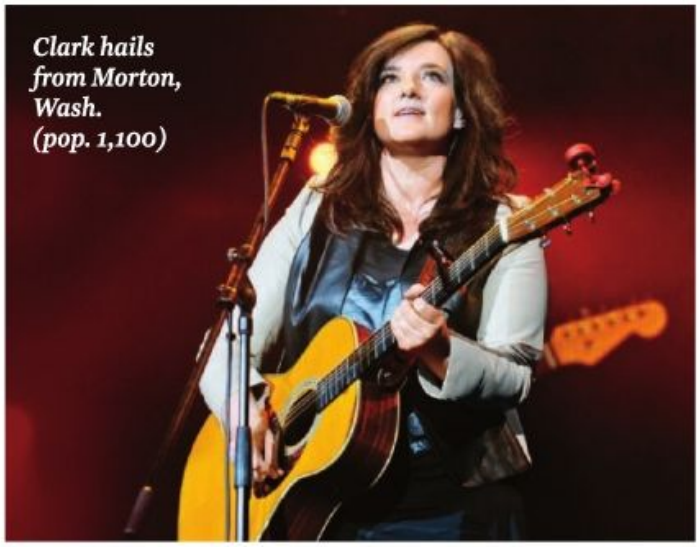
Greenleaf is as unapologetic as a tent-revival sermonizer about playing things big and broad. Does the "first lady" of the church, Grace's mother Mae (Lynn Whitfield), fly commercial? "Never again—thank you, Jesus!" she announces. And Oprah Winfrey, in a supporting role as Grace's bar-owner aunt, shows she hasn't lost her ability to pitch her performance to the project's level. Her Mavis telling a scheming brother, "That kind of prancing's reserved for Satan" isn't likely to put another Emmy on her shelf, but it's as engaging as any other Winfrey performance.

In the midst of the mania, there are little moments worth delighting over. As the prodigal daughter Grace, Dandridge has a tight-lipped half-smile she delivers when her father orders her around. It's great, economical acting, convincing you that she'll eventually get what she wants from her family without revealing what that might be.

These shows are far from perfect: *Animal Kingdom*'s central crime story is far less interesting than Barkin's bizarre tour de force, and *Greenleaf*'s boldness tends to overpower welcome moments of subtlety. Still, both summer series are worth sampling, even if you discard them by Labor Day. There's just enough cliché here—familiar criminal lunkheads on *Animal Kingdom,* the tropes of soap-opera villainy on *Greenleaf*—to make the dramas as comfortable as air-conditioning. Barkin and Dandridge rule their respective shows. And neither, delightfully, is willing to share.

Winfrey as Mavis McCready on the new series Greenleaf

ANIMAL KINGDOM *airs Tuesdays at 9 p.m. E.T. on TNT;* **GREENLEAF** *premieres June 21 at 10 p.m. E.T. and June 22 at 9 p.m. E.T. on OWN, and from then will air Wednesdays at 10 p.m. E.T.*



Clark hails from Morton, Wash. (pop. 1,100)

REVIEW

Brandy Clark has an eye for *Small Town* details

BRANDY CLARK ISN'T A HOUSEHOLD name, but she's given Nashville some of its most memorable hits of the decade. The co-writer of smashes like Kacey Musgraves' provocative "Follow Your Arrow," Clark has a knack for big melodies and punchy yet heartfelt lyrics that have made her one of country's driving forces. Her dirt-road poetry is firmly embedded in the genre's roots, but her take on country's outlaw spirit is decidedly modern.

On her second solo album, *Big Day in a Small Town*, Clark focuses her sharp eye on the American map's tiniest dots, those areas too small for a Waffle House or a Walmart, where porches serve as gathering places and where gossip can spread like wildfire. Clark's lyrics populate her *Town* with characters whose personalities spring in full from the smallest details—the fall from grace of "Homecoming Queen" emerges from imagery of clipped coupons and sequined dresses long outgrown, while "Soap Opera" describes a beauty parlor where one woman worked her way up from shampoo duty to "playing shrink to every head of hair."

Clark's amped-up take on twang may not be as massive as her arena-ready male compatriots', but when she cranks things up, it's a damn good time. A boisterous stomp anchors the devil-may-care optimism of "Broke," while the feisty "Girl Next Door" takes aim at unrealistic expectations of femininity from the Virgin Mary to Barbie. Yet she also deftly operates within country's more traditional structures. The vengeful "Daughter," with backing vocals by Musgraves, has a giddy honky-tonk feel and a gimlet-eyed view of life's circular nature: "She can't help but love them boys who love to love and leave them girls/ Just like her father." It's this injection of grit and honesty into the genre's most familiar tropes that makes her one of its biggest talents. —MAURA JOHNSTON

QUICK TALK

Nick Jonas

The singer is out with his third solo album, Last Year Was Complicated, *and appears on Audience Network's mixed-martial-arts drama* Kingdom.

These songs get personal. Do you mind when people try to piece together whom they're about? I think it's great. I choose to be more tight-lipped in interviews, but I can be more free to speak in music and even have some fun with it. I'm a fan of Drake's new record. I'm sitting there listening, trying to figure out what song is about what person!

You've moved past your Disney Channel image, but did that experience help you? It's easy for a lot of people to try to put the words in my mouth that it was a horrible experience and that there was exploitation of young people. There can be that. But I think that what I took away, along with trying to break that mold, is the work ethic.

You've consistently made an effort to appeal to gay male fans, and you are not gay. Is there a line for you between being inclusive and pandering? You have to just understand that there is ignorance everywhere and people are trying to be negative. My heart is very pure, and I work with people who are creative, and if photo shoots are sexual in some way or have a sexy edge, it's just fun to get in a room and create. It's no more complicated than that. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

ACTING SIDE PROJECTS

FOX'S *SCREAM QUEENS*

'I think I died for real last [season]. But as you know, Ryan Murphy is very creative, and if he wants to bring me back, he will.'

KINGDOM

'I was making [my] record while shooting Seasons 2 and 3. If you watch the show, it gives you more perspective on where I was at that moment.'

CLARK, JONAS: GETTY IMAGES

REVIEW

Two new memoirs reveal feminism's growing pains

By Jill Filipovic

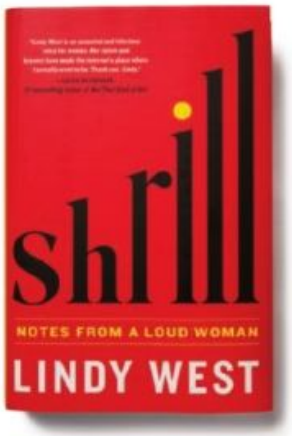
BEING A FEMINIST IN 2016 IS A STRANGE THING. YOU ARE at once riding the wave of a radical social movement turned trendy (Beyoncé dancing in front of a flashing FEMINIST sign, Taylor Swift declaring her bona fides) and watching as the political realm struggles to keep up with, or actively tries to smack down, women's progress (a renewed interest in federally funded child care but also unprecedented restrictions on women's health care). The most serious female contender for the White House is facing off against an opponent running on intransigent masculinity; she still answers for her husband's behavior, while he complains about women playing "the woman's card" with his third, decades-younger wife standing at his side. Who uses which bathroom is suddenly a matter of great political concern. Abortion is back before the Supreme Court.

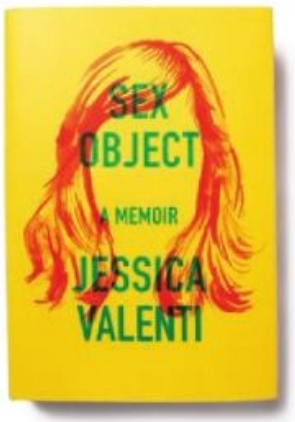
THUS, FEMINISM ITSELF is enjoying a resurgence, spurred on by young feminist writers. Two of those writers, Jessica Valenti, a founder of Feministing.com and now a columnist at the *Guardian,* and Lindy West, formerly of the blog Jezebel and now also at the *Guardian,* recently published memoirs: *Sex Object* by Valenti and *Shrill: Notes From a Loud Woman* by West.

Full disclosure: Valenti is a friend, and West is someone I've interviewed. Fuller disclosure: when I heard they were both writing memoirs, my initial reaction was to wonder why the world needed another memoir from someone who, I hoped, had not lived even half her life yet. (Valenti is 37 and West 34.) I should have been more generous.

There's a power in reading these books together, at this moment in the culture, to see how the same sexist roots can grow different weeds. Both West and Valenti are harassed, objectified, treated as if their presence is an invitation for men to evaluate them as sexual goods, but their experiences play out differently. As a teenager, Valenti encounters men who masturbate on her in the subway; West has men tell her she's too fat to rape. Both women grow up in a world that wants them to be small and quiet, and both refuse. For both, that privilege comes at a personal cost.

In *Shrill,* West writes in the same comic voice that brought her legions of fans at Jezebel. It's a joke-a-sentence pace, tinged with West's dismay at the hate she endures both for her work and for her body. "When I looked in the mirror, I could never understand what was supposedly so disgusting," she writes. "I knew I was smart, funny, talented, social, kind—why wasn't that enough?" Her humor is both a tool to promote her feminism and a shield against the blowback, but that tone starts to flag at the end when she writes about the abuse that came after she criticized rape jokes in comedy. When comic peers failed to stand by her side, West's crushing disappointment breaks through her jokey tenor, showing the myriad ways a sexist culture squelches even the brightest women.





> 'Who would I be if I didn't live in a world that hated women?'
>
> JESSICA VALENTI, in *Sex Object*

In *Sex Object*, that flattening is obvious from the get-go, and the sardonic voice Valenti cultivated as a blogger is nowhere to be found, replaced by frustration-tinged sincerity and sometimes just sadness. Reading anecdotes of how people, mostly men, tried to make Valenti's existence dimmer was both illuminating and draining—and on a very human level made me exceptionally sad for my bighearted, vivid friend and women like her.

NOTABLY, BOTH WOMEN write about their abortions, without regret but with a complexity often absent in politics. Both note the importance of being able to make that choice—how it kept so many doors open. It's not the first time women have opened up about their abortions—speak-outs were a critical part of advocacy before *Roe v. Wade,* and in the case awaiting a Supreme Court decision, a group of lawyers filed a brief of their own abortion stories. But at a moment when it seems like everyone is a feminist and yet the fundamental right to decide whether or not to stay pregnant is again up for debate, reading these stories—the lawyers' brief and the ones in these books—feels like peeling back old skin. Such declarations exist both because of the paths forged by feminists decades ago and because of a public increasingly open to women's voices—a new atmosphere created partly by West, Valenti and other feminists who have long weathered sexist blows just to be able to keep talking.

Filipovic is a writer and lawyer

An Indiana family painted a 25-ft.-tall farm silo to look **like a *Despicable Me* Minion.**

Beyoncé has **helped raise more than $82,000** to aid victims of the water crisis in Flint, Mich., by giving fans the option to donate when purchasing her concert tickets.

Cast members from the new and original *Ghostbusters* **united for a photo**—and to dance to their theme song—on *Jimmy Kimmel Live!*

A 9-year-old Louisiana boy was caught on camera sneaking into his neighbors' garage—**to hug their dog.**

A new activewear brand, Veil, is selling **workout gear for women who want less revealing options** because of religious—or just personal—preference.

Two men who attempted to rob a McDonald's in eastern France—dubbed "hamburglars" by some media outlets—were **foiled by a special-forces unit.**

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Justin Bieber reportedly **got into a brawl with a much larger man** outside a hotel in Cleveland after Game 3 of the NBA Finals.

The FDA **warned Whole Foods of "serious violations"** it found while inspecting a food-preparation facility, including employees touching exposed products without washing their hands. (The chain said it has corrected the infractions.)

A hapless seagull **fell into a vat of curry** at a Welsh food factory, dyeing its feathers a blazing orange. (It was rescued by workers.)

Comedy site Above Average released a list of **cocktail recipes featuring Kraft Macaroni & Cheese,** including the Mac-Tini (mac, cheese, gin and vermouth) and the Cucumber-Lime Extra Cheesy Margarita (with a cheese-powder rim).

A man accidentally **crashed a howitzer tank into the front of a nightclub in Poland** during a Facebook live stream.

Stephen Curry's new "Chef" sneakers were **widely mocked on Twitter** for looking too old-school.

MINION: YOUTUBE; CLOTHING: VEIL (2); BURGER: MCDONALD'S; SEAGULL: AP; SNEAKERS: NEW BALANCE; DOG, COCKTAILS: FACEBOOK; BEYONCÉ, GHOSTBUSTERS, SACK, MAGNIFYING GLASS, BIEBER: GETTY IMAGES

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

There's a difference between a boss and a friend, and that's as it should be

By Kristin van Ogtrop

A FEW YEARS AGO I WAS TALKING TO A CO-WORKER ABOUT her job dissatisfaction. She had specific complaints about our office, though she liked the people she worked with. During the conversation she remarked, almost offhandedly, "You are one of my best friends." And as soon as she said it, I panicked just a little bit. This woman was a joy to work with. She was funny and smart, and we were simpatico in nearly every way. We got along well and laughed constantly. We were, in short, great work friends.

BUT WE COULD NOT be *friend* friends, because I was her boss. Meaning our relationship quite possibly could end badly. She could quit unexpectedly, and hers were big shoes to fill. Or I could fire her for any number of reasons, not all of them within my control. Real friends treat each other better than that. But work friends can do all kinds of terrible things to each other, because, as Michael Corleone famously explained, "It's not personal, Sonny. It's strictly business."

I thought of this co-worker recently when I saw the results of a new Gallup poll that revealed millennials want a "holistic relationship" with their managers. They want the boss to express interest in their lives outside the office—or, as the *Wall Street Journal* put it, to ask about their weekends. Which will apparently make them like their jobs more.

Please, Gallup, make it stop. I am trying so hard to evolve, but every time I hear something like this I want to get in a time machine and go back to the days when making millennials feel fulfilled was not my responsibility. Call me old-fashioned, but I don't believe you can group-hug your way to success in a global economy. I thought we all went to work to … work. Whether you're cleaning teeth or writing code or laying tile or curing cancer, it's a job—and it's your job to do it well. If you don't, you might get fired, unless you are smart enough (or dumb enough, depending on the severance situation) to quit first.

It's not that bosses don't care what their employees (even those ages 19 to 35) do over the weekend. If your boss is a good one—meaning smart and kind—she definitely wants you to have a rich, fulfilling personal life. Partly because she is a nice person, and partly because that will help make you a happy, successful employee. Which will make you better at your job, which will help the whole organization, starting with her. (Note to millennials: many bosses think it's all about them, not you.) If your boss asks about your weekend, it may just be that she is polite and that's what polite people do on Monday. Or she may want to understand you better, because personal details can be telling. I once hired a woman in part because when she revealed that she had been a dancer, my mischievous executive editor asked her to perform a dance move during the interview and she actually did. (Which showed me this job candidate was good-natured, honest and fast on her feet—literally.) So be selective and strategic about what your weekend reveals. "I went kayaking/to a museum/to the movies with my grandmother" is excellent. "I binge-watched *Archer* while drinking Jägermeister from a paper bag," not so much.

AND IF SHE DOESN'T INQUIRE about your weekend, or make any chitchat whatsoever, or even dependably act 100% human, that doesn't mean she is a bad boss or a lousy person. She might simply be so overwhelmed by the demands of her own life that she tries to work as hard and fast as she can before the metaphorical timer goes off at the end of her day. I spent two of my three pregnancies waddling my enormous self into the office of a manager who never once asked me when the baby was due, whether I knew what I was having or how I was feeling. I doubted she cared or even knew that I was pregnant, until it was unambiguously a baby, and not a giant lunch, under my dress. Was my manager tough? Beyond. Was she was a nice person? I still wonder. Was she a good boss? Yes, in many ways. Did she run a successful enterprise? Absolutely. She was All Business, and it worked.

Maybe I am a terrible manager, but the notion that I now need to go around asking everyone about their weekends makes me feel deficient. Deficient, and really tired. So to everyone who works for me: apologies in advance if I don't ask what you did on Saturday. Really, it's not that I don't care. I just don't think that's what we came here for.

Van Ogtrop is the editor of Real Simple

ILLUSTRATION BY LUCI GUTIÉRREZ FOR TIME

Sebastian Junger The author "rants" about why people feel good after disasters, and the human connection that's missing from modern life

Your new book, *Tribe: On Homecoming and Belonging*, posits that service members find our society hard to re-enter because it's alienating even for those not returning from war. For me, PTSD is just one lens to look at a broader question of our society—the very common sense of loneliness, the lack of communal utility that people sense, like, "What am I here for? Who am I helping? Who needs me?" That's a societal problem and not a personal problem.

So it's not just service members who feel isolated? The assumption is that our wonderful society is good for our mental health. And the fact that it's not is shocking and also a relief to find out. I mean, why would suicide rates go up with wealth? Why would depression go up with modernity? It's counterintuitive, but once you think about it, once you think about our evolution as a species, it makes sense.

Like Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*? Western society has this narrative that we're moving steadily toward a kind of societal perfection. And in some ways we are. The improvements are amazing. But there's this massive unseen cost, which is our sense of connectedness to the group, and that connectedness to the group has been at the core of our definition of what it means to be human for 200,000 years. For the first time in history, it's being challenged, it's being corroded. Then when soldiers experience life in the platoon or when earthquake survivors experience a brief, communal survival effort, everyone's shocked by how good it feels, even though the circumstances are horrible. When really it's people re-experiencing their evolutionary origins of being in this small inter-reliant life. And it feels good. It feels really good.

But aren't things also clearer and simpler in war? They're simpler, and they feel more important, but the insight for me was that we evolved as a species to survive everything, including trauma. And if trauma left half of us incapacitated, as one could conclude from the military statistics, we wouldn't be here today as a species. So what is going on? The answer I came up with is that the level of long-term trauma isn't a function of the trauma; it's a function of the society you come home to. In other words, the vets aren't messed up. We are. We as a society.

Except after an earthquake? Why is it mental health improves after a disaster? If stressors on human society produced antisocial behavior, we'd all die. Of course it works this way! Stressors bring out our best qualities. Otherwise we wouldn't be here. It makes total sense.

> Trauma is 'a function of the society you come home to ... The vets aren't messed up. We are.'

Are you explaining the disconnect the combat veteran feels in, say, *Billy Lynn's Long Halftime Walk*? I start with the idea that white people along the frontier were just constantly fleeing to join the Indians—and not the other way around—which challenges our Western sense of superiority. So when I saw soldiers not wanting to come back to the United States, I thought, Ah, it's just like the white captives of the Indians who didn't want to be repatriated. Why is it nobody wants to come home to Western society? What's so noxious about it?

You suggest Israel, with its 1% PTSD rate, may be a model. Its army is at the center of society, but it's in constant war. Is that worth the cost? It's another conversation. But it's important to know how it works so we can have that conversation.

One hundred and thirty-six pages. What is that? A monograph? A chapbook? It's a rant. —KARL VICK

MICHAEL BUCHER FOR TIME

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